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ABSTRACT

This curriculum unit seeks to place South Africa's history in a world historical perspective. Although the unit cannot provide a comprehensive analysis of South Africa's place in the world, it does intend to provide an introductory framework by exploring the broad themes of settlement, economic development, and political development. It is specially designed to conform to the National History Standards for high school students studying world history. The unit is intended to be flexible enough to help those teachers who seek a basic framework to teach South Africa's history exclusively, as well as those who seek to incorporate South Africa's history into a pre-existing curriculum. The unit is divided into three lessons: (1) "Geography and Settlement"; (2) "Industrialization and the Development of 20th-Century South African Society"; and (3) "Resistance and the End of White Minority Rule in South Africa." A combination of lecture outlines, handouts, and small group activities is provided for each lesson. The introduction gives purpose, objectives, outline of activities, equipment needed, a timeline, and background information. Supplementary materials for both teacher and students can be used to extend the unit. Suggested materials are listed in the appendix. (BT)

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SOUTH AFRICA IN WORLD HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

A Curriculum Unit for Grades 11-Adult

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SOUTH AFRICA
in World Historical Perspective

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

A Curriculum Unit for Grades 11–Adult

Developed by Christopher J. Lee
The Africa Project
Stanford Program on International and Cross-cultural Education (SPICE)

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SOUTH AFRICA: A TEACHERS' GUIDE

Introduction

In his books *White Supremacy* and *Black Liberation*, George M. Fredrickson has compared the histories of the United States and South Africa, arguing for the recognition of similarities in the historical development of these two geographically distant countries. His work has provoked questions as to the reasons for these affinities, particularly regarding the issue of racial injustice. Moreover, his work has pointed out the methodological benefits of comparison, of moving beyond national perspectives to place topics in a global perspective in order to re-contextualize and understand them anew.

The purpose of this curriculum unit is to place South Africa's history in a world historical perspective. Although this unit cannot provide a comprehensive analysis of South Africa's place in the world, it does intend to provide an introductory framework by exploring the broad themes of settlement, economic development, and political development. With these themes, teachers and students will arrive at a basic understanding of South Africa's history and will be able to make comparisons with other parts of Africa and the world.

This unit can be used in high school classes of world geography, history, or culture. It is specifically designed to conform to the National History Standards set in 1996 for high school students studying world history. Important to emphasize is the introductory nature of this curriculum module. This unit is intended to be flexible enough to help those teachers who seek a basic framework to teach South Africa's history exclusively, as well as those who seek to incorporate South Africa's history into a pre-existing curriculum.

To address the above themes, the unit is divided into three lessons. A combination of lecture outlines, handouts, and small group activities is provided for each. The lecture outlines provide a thematic narrative of facts, issues, and discussion questions to help teachers organize class time. Handouts are provided so that students can follow the more important issues and topics in each lesson. A timeline, historical background handouts, and a glossary of historical terms and concepts are provided at the end of this Unit Introduction as reference materials for both teachers and students to further reinforce the history and concepts discussed in the lessons.

Multimedia and small group activities are the key part of learning in this module. For Lesson One, map transparencies focus on the early settlement of both African societies and European colonists and the

eventual geographic demarcation of contemporary South Africa. In Lesson Two, a small group activity involving the 20th-century legislation underscores how racial injustice was sanctioned by the South African government before and during the apartheid era. For Lesson Three, a video of South African political posters illustrates the spectrum of political strategies that existed during the 20th century to counter policies of racial discrimination. After students interpret the visual content of these posters, a political poster-making activity allows students to engage in the issues that South Africans face today, specifically the difficulties of creating and maintaining a multiracial democracy and closing the gap between rich and poor. In addition to these materials, a small group activity on forms of political resistance and a readers' theater are included. Overall in this unit, media materials and small group activities are intended to generate further class discussion about historical and current social issues and their effects on daily experience.

Supplementary materials for both students and teacher can be used to extend the unit. Suggested materials are listed in the appendix. The extent to which these themes are elaborated is left to the individual teacher.

Purpose

The purpose of this unit is to introduce students to the historical origins of contemporary South Africa. This will be done through an episodic historical examination of the region. Although the unit deals mainly with South Africa's history, it will nevertheless prepare students to make broader conceptualizations regarding historical change in other parts of Africa and the world, particularly former colonies.

Objectives

Knowledge

- to learn basic features of South Africa's geography and the main episodes of its history from the 17th through the 20th century
- to understand the historical origins of South Africa's racially diverse population
- to comprehend the transformation from an agricultural economy to an industrial economy and how this change affected the country as a whole and the daily experience of individuals
- to understand the historical relationship between government policy and the racial hierarchy that evolved, and to understand how this racial hierarchy also related to the class structure that developed as South Africa industrialized
- to learn the historical development of the government policy of apartheid
- to learn the history of the political activism that resisted racial discrimination and to recognize the significance of the 1994 elections
- to understand the social issues that South Africa currently faces as a result of its historical legacy

Attitudes

- to appreciate the importance and relevance of another country's historical tradition, noting similarities and differences with our own
- to recognize the larger historical issues of European colonization and industrial development and how such episodic changes impacted

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local populations
- to gain a greater critical understanding of the historical origins of race as a social category and discrimination as a social practice within a society
- to acknowledge and begin to comprehend the complexity of South Africa's history, moving beyond simplistic media images of conflict between blacks and whites to an informed perception of the variety of ways racial discrimination was implemented and resisted

Skills
- to make general conclusions regarding the roots of contemporary South Africa based on recognition and analysis of historical trends
- to point out similarities and differences between South Africa's history and the histories of other countries of the world
- to deduce basic principles of colonization and development
- to analyze and interpret media materials and derive hypotheses from their interpretation
- more generally, to develop a critical approach to such topics as race and class and to develop a thought process on how to approach history: Whose perspective does a historical account or document represent? How does this affect the portrayal of history?

Outline of Activities

Preparation
- Read "Teacher Background" (pp. 7–10).
- Duplicate and distribute the timeline, "Dates and Periods of South African History" (p. 6), the student handout, "Historical Change in South Africa" (pp. 11–13), and the student handout, "Terms and Concepts from South African History" (pp. 15–17). These readings should be assigned prior to Lesson One in order to set the historical context for the curriculum unit.
- Make overhead transparencies of the maps (pp. 26, 27, 47).
- Review handouts and small group activity for Lesson Two.
- Review handouts and small group activities for Lesson Three.

Lesson One: Geography and Settlement
- Historical Background
- Introduction to the Geography of South Africa
- Settlement and Expansion: An In-Class Discussion

Lesson Two: Industrialization and the Development of 20th-Century South African Society
- Historical Background
- South Africa's Race and Class Hierarchies
- The Making of South African Society: Law and Its Social Impact

Lesson Three: Resistance and the End of White Minority Rule in South Africa
- Historical Background
- An Overview and Assessment of Political Activism
- The 1994 Election and Its Meaning
- Political Poster Activity

Equipment overhead projector
VCR

Icons For easier reference the following icons are used throughout the unit:

Transparency

Video Presentation

Group Activity

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DATES AND PERIODS OF SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY

Pre–A.D. 300	Khoisan societies, speaking "click" languages, settle and flourish in southern Africa
circa 300	Bantu-speaking populations begin to settle in southern Africa
1652	Dutch establish a base at the Cape of Good Hope
1652–1795	Dutch (Boer) settlement and expansion in southern Africa; Khoisan societies are subjugated
1795	British occupy the Cape Colony
1816–1828	*Mfecane* Period; Zulu kingdom created by Shaka
1836–1854	Period of the Great Trek
1867	Diamond mining begins
1880	First Anglo-Boer War
1886	Gold mining begins
1899–1902	Second Anglo-Boer War
1910	Union of South Africa created
1912	South African Native National Congress established (later to be the African National Congress)
1913	Natives Land Act (the start of modern segregation laws)
1926	First Non-European Convention
1948	National Party wins control of the government; apartheid system of racial segregation is gradually initiated as official government policy
1955	Congress of the People held
1960	Sharpeville Massacre
1964	Nelson Mandela and other African leaders imprisoned
1976–1977	Soweto Uprising
1986–1991	Period of national state of emergency; various laws repealed; protests and government violence
1994	First nonracial, democratic election; Nelson Mandela elected president

Note: This list is not comprehensive but suggestive of the more important dates in South Africa's history.

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Episodes of South African History

Contained in this curriculum unit are three lessons designed to introduce high school students to the history of South Africa. South Africa has been a constant presence in the media since the 1980s with the world watching this country dismantle the last vestiges of its apartheid policy of racial separation. This unit provides a means of understanding the historical origins of contemporary South Africa. Moreover, it contextualizes South Africa's history within regional and global developments by touching upon such themes as the colonization of Africa and industrialization. Overall, this unit is designed to offer a unique view of South Africa framed in a global perspective. As such, it is intended for teachers to include this unit into pre-existing world history curricula. Please note that the events, terms, and people mentioned in this background are described in the lessons that follow. It should also be noted that the following historical background is not conclusive but suggestive of the more important dates and events in South Africa's history.

Lesson One deals with settlement in southern Africa by both African societies and European colonists. The organizing question of this lesson is: What is the geography of South Africa and its relationship to the history of settlement in the region? The main objective of this lesson is therefore to trace South Africa's early history. About 1000 B.C., hunter-gatherers settled and lived in the region. Bantu-speaking populations from Central Africa arrived about A.D. 300. These early social groups were ancestors of the African societies that Europeans would later encounter. In 1487, a Portuguese expedition led by Bartholomeu Dias arrived in Mossel Bay. This expedition was the first European group to arrive in the region. Formal settlement by the Dutch East India Company occurred in 1652 at the Cape of Good Hope. Initially established as a supply outpost for the global mercantile trade, the settlement soon became permanent.

Development eventually caused conflict with local African populations. In the periods 1659–60 and 1673–77, wars occurred between the Khoisan and the Dutch. These early conflicts were later followed by wars between the Xhosa and the Dutch settlers, in the period 1779–81 and in 1793. Conflict existed not only between Europeans and Africans but also among the European settlers, particularly the Dutch and the British. The occupation of the Cape by the British in 1795 and again in 1806 would instigate rebellions by Dutch settlers in the eastern frontier who disliked the idea of foreign rule of law.

From approximately 1816 to 1828, the Zulu kingdom expanded under the strong hand of Shaka. The formation of this kingdom was part of a regional trend of conflict among indigenous states throughout southeast Africa. This period of regional state expansion and contraction is known as the *Mfecane*. The main issues of contestation were access to resources and control over regional trade.

In the wake of the *Mfecane* came European settlers, specifically Dutch Boer settlers who migrated east from 1836 to 1854 to escape British control in the Cape. This mass migration, known as the Great Trek, resulted in conflict with the Zulu, who sought to preserve their autonomy and regional power. Despite early victories, the Zulu were defeated by the Boers in 1838 at the Battle of Blood River. During the next several decades, the Boers would found Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State in an effort to escape British jurisdiction. The British followed their movements and eventually annexed the Boer states. African states were the main victims of this process of expansion and settlement.

teacher background

Overall, Lesson One traces the settlement of southern Africa by Africans and Europeans. The process of encounter and conflict over natural resources is a central theme. It is important to recognize that other ethnic groups also arrived in southern Africa during this early period. For example, the slave trade of the 18th century imported people from Madagascar, Malaysia, and India. It is also important to realize that this process of settlement by Europeans is an aspect of a regional and global framework. Southern Africa was not the only part of Africa or the world to be colonized during this time period.

Lesson Two discusses the development of South Africa after this initial period of settlement. The organizing question of this lesson is: What are the economic and political origins of modern South Africa? The main objective of this lesson is to explicate South Africa's economic and political development from the 19th into the 20th century. The major thrust of development was the European exploitation of diamonds and gold. In 1867, diamonds were discovered near the confluence of the Orange and Vaal Rivers. This discovery led the British to further assert their control in the region. In 1877, they annexed the Boer Transvaal. In 1879, the Zulu-British War resulted in the Zulu being defeated. In 1880, the First Anglo-Boer War occurred to determine who would have regional control. The outcome in 1881 was that the Transvaal regained its independence. However, the discovery of significant gold fields in 1886 would inspire the British to again seek control. From 1899 to 1902, the Second Anglo-Boer War took place with the British prevailing.

With the beginnings of political stability came the rapid development of mining industries and urbanization. Shifting from being a "rest stop" for mercantilist trade, South Africa became a leading world producer of diamonds and gold, in addition to exporting other resources such as wool. After the loss of political autonomy, the increasingly impoverished African populace was gradually coerced into a developing wage-labor economy.

The "mineral revolution" was also attended by early policies of racial separation. The mining boom inspired a flood of European speculators who sought new economic opportunities. Once they arrived, they lobbied to protect these opportunities against competition from Africans. Pass laws were enacted which limited the movement and employment of Africans. In 1905, territorial segregation was advocated by the South African Native Affairs Commission. In 1907, restrictions were placed on public education by the Cape Colony School Board. Despite the efforts of various political activists, equal political rights were not achieved in the charter creating the Union of South Africa in 1910. In 1911, an industrial color bar, limiting skilled jobs to whites, was established by the Mines and Works Act passed by the parliament. In 1913, territorial segregation was formally established through the Natives Land Act, which formed a system of reserves for the African population. Less than 10 percent of South Africa's land was allocated to the African majority (roughly 67 percent of the population). Moreover, the land allocated was poor in quality. With individuals having to seek outside employment to support their families, this system in effect created labor reserves for South Africa's growing economy. Further discrimination was found in the urban job sector. The Colour Bar Act, passed in 1926, further excluded Africans from skilled jobs. In the political realm, Africans lost their right to vote for direct representation in parliament in 1936. It is important to keep in mind that discriminatory legislation affected not only Africans but also Indians and Coloureds. Overall, Lesson Two describes the economic and political development of 20th-century South Africa with particular attention being paid to the origins of racial separation.

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Lesson Three addresses the development of African resistance during the 20th century and its successful culmination in the democratic election of 1994. The organizing question of this lesson is: What are the origins to the end of apartheid? The central objective of this lesson is to trace the development of African activism and its effect on South African politics. With the loss of political autonomy, African expressions of resistance changed from the earlier forms of military confrontation to political organizations and other social institutions. An early example is the founding of the South African Native National Congress in 1912. This organization later became the African National Congress (ANC). Other activist movements such as the South African Communist Party and the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union existed as well. In 1926, the First Non-European Convention was held in Kimberley as an attempt to align various activist groups. The final impetus for the development of concerted African resistance was the gradual implementation of South Africa's policy of racial separation known as "apartheid."

The parliamentary election victory of the white-controlled National Party in 1948 set in motion the beginnings of apartheid. A series of legislative acts followed which formally established racial separation. In 1949, the Mixed Marriages Act prohibited the legal recognition of interracial marriages. In 1950, two crucial legislative acts were passed: the Population Registration Act, which officially classified people by race, and the Group Areas Act, which demanded that people in urban areas reside in racially determined zones. In 1951, a new system of governance for African areas was established by the Bantu Authorities Act. Indians and Coloureds were also affected by apartheid legislation. The above legislative measures limited the freedom of these social groups in addition to the African majority. Overall, the government gained increasing control over the populace through racial division.

White control was met with resistance. In 1952, the ANC and other groups began a campaign of passive resistance. A Congress of the People was held in 1955 as an attempt to unify activist groups. In 1959, the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) was founded as a more radical alternative to the ANC. These developments were met with government confrontation and violence. In 1960, the Sharpeville Massacre took place with 67 African anti-pass law demonstrators killed. This anti-pass campaign was national in scope, and the Sharpeville Massacre symbolized other violent deaths by police across the country. Moreover, the government placed a ban on African political organizations and ended African and Coloured representation through whites in parliament. In 1964, Nelson Mandela and other ANC and PAC leaders went on trial and were sentenced to life imprisonment.

Despite these efforts by the government to quell activism, South Africa witnessed continent-wide changes that challenged policies of suppressing the independence of Africans. Since the end of World War II, a process of European decolonization was sweeping both Africa and Asia due to the efforts of a new generation of African and Asian nationalists. In the period 1966–68, the southern African countries of Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland all became independent. In 1975, Mozambique and Angola became independent. These achievements in southern Africa and elsewhere inspired the thoughts and actions of activists in South Africa.

In 1976, a surge of activism took place inspired by the ideas of the Black Consciousness movement. In response to the Soweto Uprising of African students, violent government suppression occurred, leaving at least 575 people dead in Soweto and other townships. As a result, in 1977 an arms embargo was placed on South Africa by the United Nations Security Council. The government began to make concessions.

In 1979, African unions achieved the right to organize. In 1984, a new constitution provided limited participation in central government to Coloureds and Indians but not Africans. Resistance continued during the mid-1980s, and violent government crackdowns ensued. International as well as domestic pressure further motivated the government to take action. In 1985, a limited dialogue was established between the government and imprisoned and exiled ANC leaders. In 1986, the pass laws were repealed. However, a national state of emergency was declared resulting in unrest, detentions, and suppression of the press. The United States Congress responded to this development by passing the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, which implemented sanctions against South Africa.

Continued widespread resistance along with increasing international pressure gradually forced political change. After a change of leadership in 1989 with F. W. de Klerk succeeding P. W. Botha, the ban on the ANC and PAC was removed in 1990. Nelson Mandela and others were released from prison. In the period 1990–91, various legislative acts that suppressed Africans were repealed, including the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, and the Separate Amenities Act. African political organizations were legalized, and the state of emergency ended. Negotiations between various political groups began, and in 1993 an interim constitution was approved by de Klerk, Mandela, and others. African efforts at self-determination culminated in 1994 with the ANC winning the first nonracial democratic election and Nelson Mandela being sworn in as president. A government of national unity was formed. The international community approved, and foreign sanctions were lifted. Overall, Lesson Three chronicles the development of South Africa as the multiracial democracy for which it is known today.

In summary, this curriculum unit addresses the central themes of South Africa's history: settlement, political and economic development, and African liberation. These themes are applicable not only to South Africa, but to other African nations as well. More broadly, these themes can be addressed in other parts of the world that have experienced colonization and decolonization. This focus enables teachers to incorporate South Africa's history within a larger world history curriculum. Provided in the following lessons are lecture outlines and activities that elaborate these three themes.

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HISTORICAL CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA

African and Dutch Settlement in Southern Africa

About 1000 B.C., hunter-gatherers settled in southern Africa. Bantu-speaking populations from central Africa arrived about A.D. 300. These early social groups were ancestors of the African societies that Europeans would later encounter. In 1487, a Portuguese expedition arrived in Mossel Bay. This expedition was the first European group to arrive in the region. Formal settlement by the Dutch East India Company occurred in 1652 at the Cape of Good Hope. Initially established as a supply outpost for the global mercantile trade, the settlement soon became permanent.

Early Conflict and the Arrival of the British in 1795

Gradual European settlement and expansion caused conflict with local African populations. During the 17th century, skirmishes occurred between the Khoisan and the Dutch. These early disputes were followed in the 18th century by conflict between the Xhosa and the Dutch settlers. Conflict existed not only between Europeans and Africans but also among the European settlers, particularly the Dutch and the British. The occupation of the Cape by the British in 1795 and again in 1806 would instigate rebellions by Dutch burghers, or settlers, in the eastern frontier who disliked the idea of foreign rule of law.

The *Mfecane* of the Early 19th Century

From approximately 1816 to 1828, the Zulu kingdom expanded under the strong hand of Shaka. The formation of this kingdom was part of a regional trend, as conflict over resources and trade developed among indigenous societies throughout southeast Africa. This period of regional African state expansion is known as the *Mfecane*.

The Period of the Great Trek

In the wake of the *Mfecane* period came Dutch Boer settlers who migrated east from 1836 to 1854 to escape British control in the Cape. This mass migration, known as the Great Trek, resulted in conflict with the Zulu. Despite early victories, Zulu authority was gradually undermined. For the next several decades, the Boers would try to escape British jurisdiction by founding the republics of Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal. African states were the main victims of this process of expansion and settlement.

Overall, the process of encounter and conflict over natural resources, such as land, is a central theme of South Africa's early history. It is important to realize that this process of settlement by Europeans is an aspect of a regional and global framework. Southern Africa was not the only part of Africa or the world to be colonized at this time.

Mineral Discoveries of the Late 19th Century and Industrialization

The major thrust of economic development during the late 19th century was the mining of diamonds and gold. In 1867, diamonds were discovered near the confluence of the Orange and Vaal Rivers. This discovery led the British to further assert their power in the region. In 1877, they annexed the Boer Transvaal. In 1879, the Zulu-British War transpired with the Zulu being defeated. In 1880, the First Anglo-Boer War occurred over who would have regional control. The outcome in 1881 was that the Boer republic of Transvaal regained its independence. However, the discovery of significant gold fields in the Transvaal in 1886 inspired the British to again seek regional jurisdiction. From 1899 to 1902,

the Second Anglo-Boer War took place, and this time the British prevailed.

20th-Century Economic Development and Racial Segregation

With the beginnings of political stability came the rapid development of industries and urbanization. Africans, who were increasingly impoverished due to loss of sovereignty, were gradually coerced into a wage labor system. These developments were also attended by early policies of racial separation. Despite the efforts of activists, equal rights were not included in the charter of the Union of South Africa created in 1910. In 1913, territorial segregation was formally established through the Natives Land Act, which set up a system of reservations for the African population. Less than 10 percent of South Africa's land was allocated to the African majority (roughly 67 percent of South Africa's total population), thus forcing many to seek employment in urban industries to support their families. Pass laws were soon established which restricted the movement of Africans in urban areas. The Colour Bar Act, passed in 1926, reserved higher-paid skilled jobs for whites. In 1936, Africans lost their right to vote for direct representation in parliament.

Early Resistance to Policies of Racial Segregation

With the loss of political autonomy, African expressions of resistance changed from the earlier forms of military confrontation to political organizations and other social institutions. This form of resistance existed early with the founding of the South African Native National Congress in 1912. This organization later became the African National Congress (ANC). Other early activist movements such as the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union existed as well. In 1926, the First Non-European Convention was held in Kimberley as an attempt to align various activist groups. The main historical impetus for concerted African resistance was the gradual implementation of South Africa's policy of racial separation known as "apartheid."

The Development of Apartheid as Official Government Policy

The parliamentary election victory of the white-controlled National Party in 1948 set in motion the beginnings of apartheid. A series of legislative acts followed which more rigorously established racial separation. In 1949 the Mixed Marriages Act prohibited the legal recognition of interracial marriages. In 1950, two crucial legislative acts were passed: the Population Registration Act, which officially classified people by race, and the Group Areas Act, which demanded that people in urban areas reside in racially determined zones. In 1951, a new system of governance for African areas was established by the Bantu Authorities Act. Indians and Coloureds (those of interracial background) were also affected: apartheid policies as a whole discriminated against anyone who was not white. Overall, the government gained increasing control over the populace through racial division.

Resistance to Apartheid

White control was met with resistance. In 1952, the ANC and its allies began a campaign of passive resistance. A Congress of the People was held in 1955 as an attempt to unify activist groups. These developments were met with further government confrontation which led to violence. In 1960, the Sharpeville Massacre took place, in which 67 African anti-pass law demonstrators were killed by police. The Sharpeville Massacre was symbolic of a national resistance effort that resulted in widespread government violence throughout the country. The government placed a

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ban on African political organizations and ended African and Coloured representation by whites in parliament. In 1964, Nelson Mandela and other activists went on trial and were sentenced to life imprisonment.

Independence Movements Throughout Africa

Despite these efforts by the government to suppress resistance, South Africa witnessed continent-wide changes that challenged its policies. Since the end of World War II, a process of European decolonization was sweeping both Africa and Asia due to the efforts of a new generation of African and Asian nationalists. In the period 1966–68, the southern African countries of Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland all became independent. In 1975, Mozambique and Angola became independent. These achievements in southern Africa and elsewhere inspired the thoughts and actions of activists in South Africa.

In 1976, a surge of activism took place inspired by the ideas of the Black Consciousness movement. In response to the Soweto Uprising of African students, violent government suppression occurred, leaving at least 575 people dead in Soweto and other townships. As a result, in 1977 an arms embargo was placed on South Africa by the United Nations Security Council. The government began to make some concessions. In 1979, African unions achieved the right to organize. In 1984, a new constitution provided limited participation in central government to Coloureds and Indians but not Africans. Resistance continued during the mid-1980s, and violent government crackdowns ensued. International as well as domestic pressure further motivated the government to take action. In 1986, a national state of emergency was declared resulting in unrest, detentions, and suppression of the press. The United States Congress responded by passing the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, which implemented sanctions against South Africa.

The Success of Resistance and the End of Apartheid

Continued widespread resistance in South Africa along with increasing international pressure gradually forced change to occur. In 1990, the ban on the ANC and other parties was removed. Nelson Mandela and others were released from prison. In the period 1990–91, various legislative acts that suppressed Africans were repealed. African political organizations were legalized, and the state of emergency ended. Negotiations between various political groups began, and in 1993 an interim constitution was approved by South African President F. W. de Klerk, Mandela, and others. African efforts at self-determination culminated in 1994 with the ANC winning the first nonracial election and Nelson Mandela being sworn in as president. A unity government was formed. The international community approved, and sanctions against South Africa were lifted.

Terms and Concepts from South African History

The following is a list of important terms and concepts intended to familiarize students with South African history. These terms and concepts are from all three lessons. Students should refer to this list throughout the unit.

Lesson One

African Terms

Khoisan ("koy-sahn"): The Khoisan were primarily pastoralists who herded cattle and sheep, and arrived in the region of South Africa about A.D. 100 to 300 from what is now northern Botswana. They spoke a language in part consisting of clicks. Early trade developed between the Khoisan and the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope, though Dutch raids on cattle herds of the Khoisan led to an ending of these relations. With the gradual loss of cattle and land, many Khoisan were forced to work for the Dutch. Others continued to resist through the 18th century. A great number died from smallpox epidemics during the 18th century. Today, many descendants of the Khoisan are part of South Africa's "Coloured" (mixed-race) population.

Mfecane ("mm-fe-ka-ne"): This was a period during the early 19th century when African states in southeast Africa came into conflict with each other through a process of state expansion. Many perceive the Zulu state as the key player in this expansion, though this emphasis distracts from the larger picture. Several explanations have been offered for this period of conflict: competition over resources due to an increasing population in this area; an ecological crisis caused by drought conditions; and competition over trade relations with the Portuguese at Delagoa Bay. Initially, two states were in competition, the Mthethwa confederacy and the Ndwande state. Eventually, however, conflict between the two led to social upheaval throughout the region and extended to other parts of central and east Africa. The main result was the rise to prominence of several new states including the Ndebele and Swazi as well as the Zulu.

Xhosa ("ko-sa"): The Xhosa established a state just southwest of modern Natal during the 16th century. The kingdom expanded up through the 18th century and consisted of many subkingdoms. The Xhosa came into conflict with European settlers and were expelled from areas west of the Fish River in 1811. They were later defeated in 1878. The Xhosa were part of a larger group known as the Nguni. The Nguni were Bantu-speakers though they used clicks also, a sign of their interaction with the Khoisan whose language consisted of clicks.

Zulu ("zoo-loo"): Like the Xhosa, the Zulu were also a subgroup of the Nguni. During the first decades of the 19th century when the *Mfecane* was occurring, the Zulu rose to prominence under the leadership of Shaka. The military success of the Zulu has been attributed to their innovative military techniques, namely the use of a hand-held stabbing spear to engage in close combat. Zulu society became increasingly militarized with a regimental system divided by age and gender. State power was tightly centralized under Shaka. He was assassinated in 1828. The end of his tight control and the subsequent decline of military expansion led to divisions within the Zulu leadership. Confrontations resulting from Boer and British encroachment through the rest of the 19th century further diminished the power of the Zulu.

European Terms

Boers ("bors"): The Boers were originally descendants of the early Dutch settlers in the Cape of Good Hope, though other non-Dutch, European settlers would also be referred to as "Boers." The term "boer" became synonymous with those settlers who were farmers or semi-nomadic ranchers. They spoke Afrikaans, a derivative of Dutch developed in southern Africa, and often belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church. Their 20th-century descendants would be known as Afrikaners.

British: The British took over the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch in 1795. They returned the Cape to the Dutch in 1803 but later reoccupied it in 1806. British interest in this port was strategic in order to secure the ship route from Europe to India, one of Britain's colonies. Though Britain was initally interested in South Africa for this geopolitical reason, and for the most part sought to minimize its involvement in order to limit governing expenses, South Africa did become increasingly important economically, first because of its wool production and later from gold and diamonds. Thus, British interest increased through the 19th century. It is important to note that tensions did exist between the British and the Boers (as discussed in the Student Background "Historical Change in South Africa"). Commentators within and outside South Africa often divide the white population into these two groups.

Dutch East India Company: The Dutch East India Company was a private company founded in 1602. By the early 18th century, it was the largest mercantile company in the world. The company founded a station in the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 to resupply ships that were going to and coming from the Dutch Indonesian colonies. The station was not intended as a colony. The company went bankrupt in 1794.

Great Trek: The Great Trek was the migration of Boer settlers, also known as Voortrekkers, east from the Cape of Good Hope starting in 1836. By 1846, about 14,000 had joined the trek. The reasons for this expansion were to escape British control, which was viewed by the Boers as intolerable, and to settle new land, which had become scarce in the area of the Cape. This expansion led to conflict with African states such as the Zulu and the Ndebele.

Lesson Two

Concepts for Understanding the Racial Hierarchy

Ideology: Thoughts and ideas that commonly exist in a society. They consciously or unconsciously influence a person's world outlook. Ideology operates at the level of perspectives and opinions.

Everyday practice: The conscious or unconscious manifestation of an ideology's influence through words, actions, and deeds. "Everyday practice" consists of how a person, with certain perspectives and opinions influenced by ideology, behaves on a day-to-day basis.

Status: One's position in society as defined relative to others. Factors that define status include economic level, political position, education, and social standing.

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Power: The ability to influence others and get what one wants. Power is based in part on status. Moreover, power in turn helps to reinforce status.

Concepts for Understanding the Industrial Class Hierarchy

Working class: People who work wage labor jobs in various industries. They are directly involved in the industrial production process through their labor.

Capitalist class (business owners, investors): People who invest money into capital (raw materials, machinery) to produce resources or goods. These resources and goods are sold at a profit, which then is reinvested into further capital to produce more resources and goods. Capitalists control the production process through their investment and own the goods that are produced by workers.

Middle class (politicians, intellectuals, professionals, members of the service industry): People who compose an intermediate class between the capitalists and the working class. Though not directly involved in the production process, they can directly or indirectly support or challenge the aims of capitalists.

Lesson Three

Concepts for Understanding Resistance

Passive resistance: Political activism that is constituted by more peaceful measures of confrontation such as strikes, boycotts, and political rallies.

Active resistance: Political activism that is constituted by more direct forms of resistance, including physical confrontation and violence.

Lesson One

GEOGRAPHY AND SETTLEMENT

Organizing Question

What is the geography of South Africa and its relationship to the history of settlement in the region?

Introduction

The purpose of Lesson One is to familiarize students with the geography and early history of South Africa. It is important to keep in mind that the formation of political borders is a historical process. Thus, this lesson intends to link geography with historical processes of expansion and settlement.

In advance of this lesson, students should be assigned the Student Background handout "Historical Change in South Africa" on pages 11–13, the timeline on page 6, and the "Terms and Concepts from South African History" handout on pages 15–17. Teachers should make copies of each for all students.

There are three parts to this lesson:

- Historical Background
- Introduction to the Geography of South Africa
- Settlement and Expansion: An In-Class Discussion

Historical Background

About 1000 B.C., hunter-gatherers who were ancestors of the Khoisan settled in southern Africa, and Bantu-speaking communities arrived about A.D. 300. In 1487, the first Europeans, a Portuguese expedition led by Bartholomeu Dias, arrived in Mossel Bay. A permanent Dutch settlement was founded at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652. As Europeans migrated inland from this point, conflict developed with local African populations. Among the most prominent of these African societies were the Zulu, who were led by Shaka from approximately 1816 to 1828. The Zulu state grew during a period of state expansion and conflict in southeast Africa known as the *Mfecane*. Thus, a period of African expansion was occurring at the same time that European settlement was expanding through southern Africa.

Beginning with the Great Trek of 1836, the Dutch Boers migrated east from the Cape to escape the political jurisdiction of the British who had occupied the Cape in 1795. The desire of the Dutch Boers to find new land for themselves led to the establishment of Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State territories. These would later become provinces of the Union of South Africa.

The exploitation of gold and diamond resources further encouraged white settlement and development. The cities of Pretoria, Johannesburg, and Kimberley developed near mining operations of these resources. The impact of this development will be discussed further in Lesson Two.

Important to consider are trends in other parts of the world during this time period. These include the settlement and expansion of other indigenous populations in Africa, the development of world mercantile trade, the expansion of trade along the west and east coasts of Africa, and the European colonization of other parts of Africa and the world. Southern Africa is just one area where these trends existed.

Introduction to the Geography of South Africa

1. Using Map Transparency #1, have students find the Cape of Good Hope, the Namib Desert, the Kalahari Desert, the Drakensberg Mountains, the Limpopo River, the Orange River, the Fish River, Table Bay, and Delagoa Bay. These are all significant landmarks of southern Africa's environment. Also note that much of South Africa consists of a general plateau that rises as one travels inland from the coast. This high inland plateau is known as the High Veld. Show the environmental diversity of South Africa's landscape.
    a) Ask students how this environment may have made some forms of agriculture or development difficult. (*Deserts and low rainfall made agriculture a problem. Few rivers also made transportation a problem.*)
    b) Ask students how these environmental conditions may therefore have affected the settlement of both African and European populations. (*Competition developed over limited land that had the resources to sustain large communities.*)

2. Note the location of cities on Map Transparency #2 .
    a) Discuss how the location of cities reflects environmental conditions and the ability to produce agricultural goods. Also point out the proximity of urban areas to mineral resources, specifically the location of Kimberley near diamond deposits and the location of Johannesburg and Pretoria near gold deposits.
    b) Note the coastal settlements and how their location facilitated trade with other parts of the world in the Atlantic and Indian Ocean basins.

3. Several indigenous social groups lived in southern Africa. Have students locate the Khoisan, the Xhosa, the Nguni, the Zulu, the Sotho, and the Tswana on Map Transparency #1.
    a) Link the settlement of these African societies with the previous discussion of environmental conditions. How might these conditions affect the local economies? (*Agricultural production was pursued where good soil conditions and rainfall were readily available, such as near the coast; cattle herding existed where wide stretches of grazing land were available, such as in the interior High Veld; hunting-gathering existed in dry desert regions where productive resources, such as good soil and water, were scarce.*)
    b) Using page 15 of the "Terms and Concepts from South African History" handout, discuss the features of some of these

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African groups (e.g., languages, political structures, origins, economies, military strength).

Note: The terminology from the "Terms and Concepts from South African History" handout come from the wide range of indigenous and introduced languages spoken in South Africa. However, it is important to point out that these terms have been initiated and used by Western-trained scholars for describing South Africa's history. Other terms may be used locally in addition to or in place of these. Recognizing this situation may serve as a useful departure for discussing with students the existence of differing historical perspectives and the link between language and these perspectives. How is history to be portrayed? In what language and with whose perspective? How might histories written by European scholars differ from those written by African scholars?

4. Have students identify sites of European settlement. The urban areas of Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Kimberley, and Durban should be identified on Map Transparency #2.
   a) Point out again that Kimberley is located near diamond resources and that Johannesburg and Pretoria are located near gold resources. Cape Town and Durban were important ports for the Atlantic and Indian Ocean trades, respectively. Consider this time how these settlements linked southern Africa and its resources to a world trade system.
   b) Chronologize the founding of new territories by the Boers: Natal (1838); Transvaal (1852); and Orange Free State (1854). Note that these territories are represented by today's provinces seen on Map Transparency #2. Consider local resources as well as the desire of the Boers to find new land outside of British jurisdiction as reasons for establishing these territorial claims.
   c) Summarize the general process of European movement and settlement in South Africa. What compelled this migration? Can a parallel be drawn with other parts of the world (e.g., the westward expansion in the United States)?

   Note: Pretoria is the capital of South Africa. The executive branch of government is located there. The national parliament is located in Cape Town.

Settlement and Expansion: An In-Class Discussion

One way to look at early South African history is to highlight the conflicts between European settlers and African populations. These include: the subjugation of the Khoisan (1652–1795); the expulsion of Africans from land west of the Fish River (1811–1812); the Battle of Blood River and the defeat of a Zulu army (1838); and the Zulu defeat of the British at Isandhlwana (1879). Though these events are important, chronologizing these facts alone does not explain to students the reasons for conflict and how these conflicts shaped relations between Africans and Europeans for the future. This process of conflict needs to be contextualized further.

From the 17th through the 19th centuries, the region of southern

Africa experienced fundamental changes demographically, politically, and economically. These changes can be linked to other historical changes occurring elsewhere in Africa and the world. A global mercantile trade linked Africa, Asia, North and South America, and Europe. This trade not only stimulated economies worldwide, but also created a new set of political power dynamics revolving around a world marketplace. Some areas were settled by foreign officials to oversee trade. Other areas were settled by families and individuals who sought new lives and opportunities. Other people were forcefully displaced by means of the Atlantic and Indian Ocean slave trades.

The following discussion exercise has these objectives:

- to give students an idea of the meaning of settlement and expansion as a historical process in southern Africa
- to address general questions regarding how European economic expansion and worldwide colonization came about and how it impacted indigenous states and societies
- to discuss the implications of these early processes of settlement and expansion in southern Africa for future historical developments
- to engage students in the meaning of geography and its explanatory link between these early processes and 20th-century South African history

To achieve these objectives, the following topics can be addressed. The teacher may break the class into small groups to discuss these questions or may present them through a lecture. Distribute the in-class discussion handout (pages 28 and 29) to students to help guide them.

1. Ask students to speculate about the features of indigenous African economies and the Dutch and British settler economies. Discuss how the needs of both of these agriculturally based economies created competition over land and resources.

2. Ask students what the basis of any agricultural society is. (*The answers are crops and livestock, but even more basically, land.*) Make comparisons with agricultural economies in other parts of the world. To aid discussion you might compare industrial versus agricultural economies.

3. Ask students what an individual in an agricultural economy would want to have in order to make him or her secure. (*The main things are land or rights to work the land, or rights to keep a portion of the produce of the land.*) Relate these principles to the historical situation of South Africa. Consider the existence of competing sets of claims over land and the difficulties of accommodating legal systems that are based on different cultural institutions and values. (*Africans and European settlers both had land needs. Different legal systems and methods of land use often led to misunderstandings and competing legal claims over land usage. Direct conflict often erupted.*)

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4. Discuss the nature of governance among indigenous societies and settler communities. Link the nature of governance to the types of economies that were in place. Agriculturally based economies tend to coexist with a less-centralized state, given the situation of individuals and groups inhabiting vast stretches of land to pursue activities such as herding and food cultivation.

    a) Consider applying this idea linking state and economy not only to South Africa but to other parts of the world such as the United States. Discuss how government power is more conspicuous in urban areas than rural areas. Discuss how this idea applies to colonists who were far from the countries in which they originated. (*Geographic distance made the governing of colonies more difficult. This is particularly true in the case of the 18th-century American colonies, which eventually rebelled, as did others, against European control.*) What were the advantages and disadvantages of weak colonial state power? (*An advantage was less government control. A disadvantage was fewer government services, such as military protection.*) Discuss how this idea applies to African groups and the states of which they were a part. What were the advantages and disadvantages of weak or strong African state power? (*An advantage of a weak state was greater individual freedom and enterprise. A disadvantage was that collective resistance against European settlement was more difficult. The converse is true of a strong state.*)

    b) Discuss the linkages between the power of competing states and the development of conflict. How did the nature of state power, weak or strong, influence the situation of competing sets of claims over land and resources? (*Weak or strong state power affected the regional balance of power that would determine whether conflict or negotiation would result.*) Point out that farmers and herders from both African and European groups needed protection in order to enjoy the benefits of land. When might conflict and the use of force arise? What role might state power play? (*In the case of southern Africa, conflict often arose when settlers acquired land individually, beyond the bounds of colonial state control. Nevertheless, the state would protect settlers when needed despite their self-interested action. Sometimes state and settler interests would merge, and both would cooperate in military action to acquire land and resources. Because of often superior European weapons, African states were often on the defensive though not always. African states actively sought to protect their claims to land.*)

5. Discuss with students how the development of global trade affected local subsistence economies. What would the global marketplace seek from various regions of the world? (*e.g., natural resources, new markets to sell goods*) How might an export economy develop and what might the multiplier effects of this process be? That is, how might this export economy transform other sectors of the economy? (*World*

market demand would increase local production of goods to meet that profitable demand. Other sectors of the economy would be reduced or linked, directly or indirectly, to help the export economy in order to increase the accumulation of wealth.) How did this new economy place a greater demand on land and resources? (*Export production would place a stress on resources used for production.*) How did this increased demand contribute to conflict? (*This stress on resources led to competition to acquire further resources which in turn could lead to conflict.*) Overall, what were the advantages and disadvantages of a trade economy? (*The advantages were that trade could lead to a greater accumulation of wealth compared to subsistence production. The disadvantages were that trade could also lead to a dependence on outside goods, which subsequently made communities and areas less self-sufficient.*)

6. Moving to a more general level, have students imagine the episodic changes involving worldwide settlement and expansion, focusing particularly on how these larger global trends affect local areas such as southern Africa.

   Compare Map Transparencies #1 and #2 of southern Africa before European settlement and contemporary South Africa. Note the new geographic demarcations and contemplate the meaning of these features and the formation of a nation-state. Whose concerns and history do the current geographic demarcations represent? (*European settler history*) Do they reflect the diversity of African states prior to European arrival? (*No*) Or do they reflect the newer, European influence in the region? (*Yes*) Consider how South Africa today as a nation-state obscures a diversity of cultures. Discuss how the notion of "nation-state" is Western in origin and the problems it might face as a European idea in a non-European setting (*e.g., representing the idea of a nation of homogenous people when in fact there is tremendous demographic diversity; this misrepresentation exists in Europe as well*). Moreover, discuss the challenges it might face as an abstract principle in everyday practice.

7. Discuss the meaning of early settlement and expansion in southern Africa for the future. What were some social costs? (*Consider, for example, the loss of African autonomy.*) How does a history of conflict contribute to future tensions? (*A history of conflict and subjugation makes future reconciliation and coexistence more difficult.*) Speculate on how this earlier period of history may or may not have influenced South Africa in the 20th century.

8. Consider how "colonialism" is to be defined. When did "colonialism" end? Given the fact that the Dutch had been in southern Africa since 1652, were they still foreigners in the 19th century? When does a "settler" population become a "native" population? Did "colonialism" end only with the end of apartheid and the election of Nelson Mandela as president in 1994? (Note: This question can be addressed later in Lesson Three when political resistance is discussed.) Consider both African and European perspectives when evaluating this question. Consider also a comparison with United States history.

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Conclusion

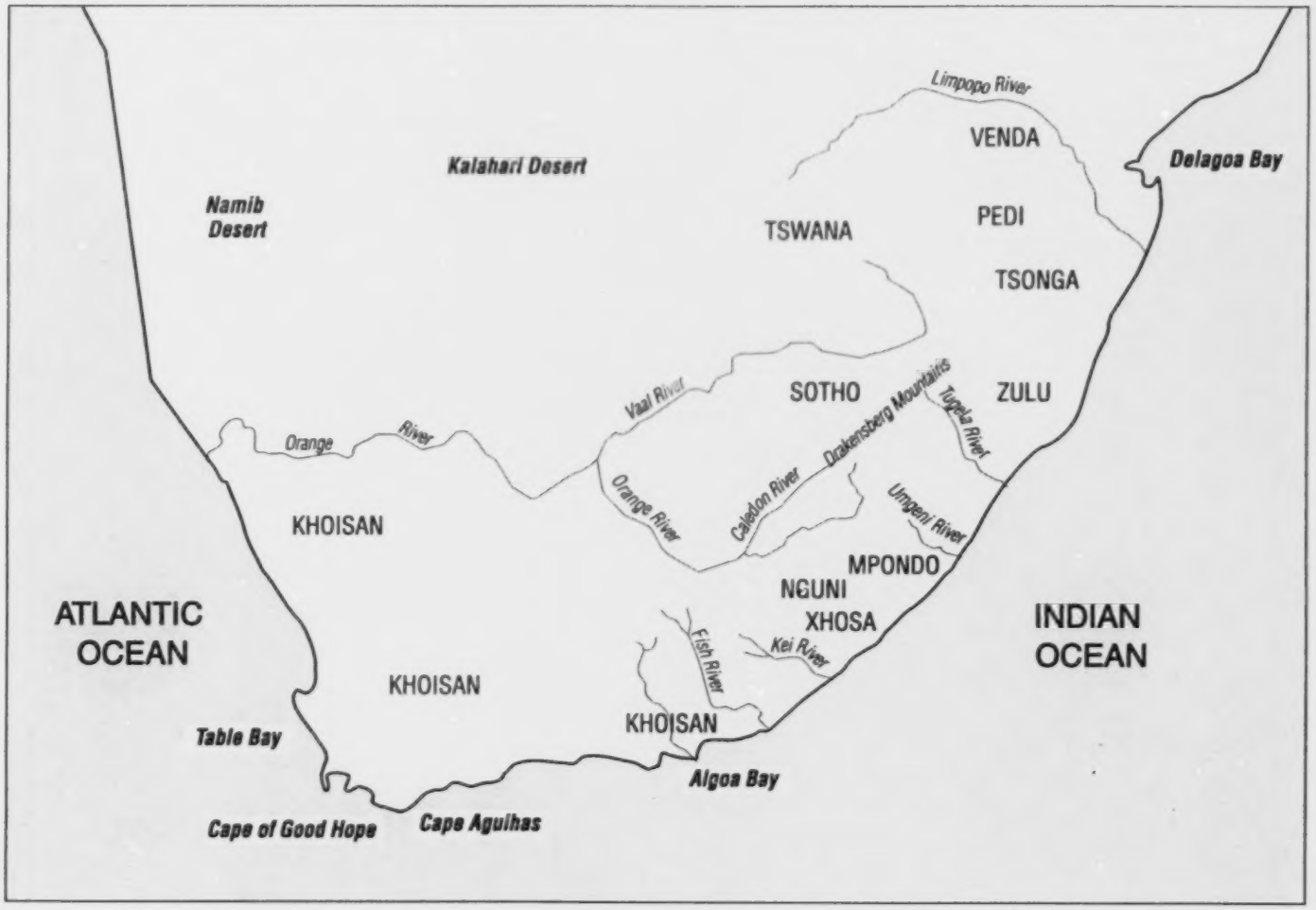
There are no easy answers to these questions. Scholars continue to grapple with them. However, these questions address fundamental ideas that aid students in conceptualizing South Africa's past. Moreover, these ideas link the past to South Africa's present and future.

To conclude, summarize the basic trends of early South African history:

- the process of settlement and expansion
- the concomitant development of conflict and loss of autonomy among African states
- the incorporation of South Africa, with its resource base, into a global economy

Students should keep these ideas in mind as they continue through the next two lessons.

map transparency #1



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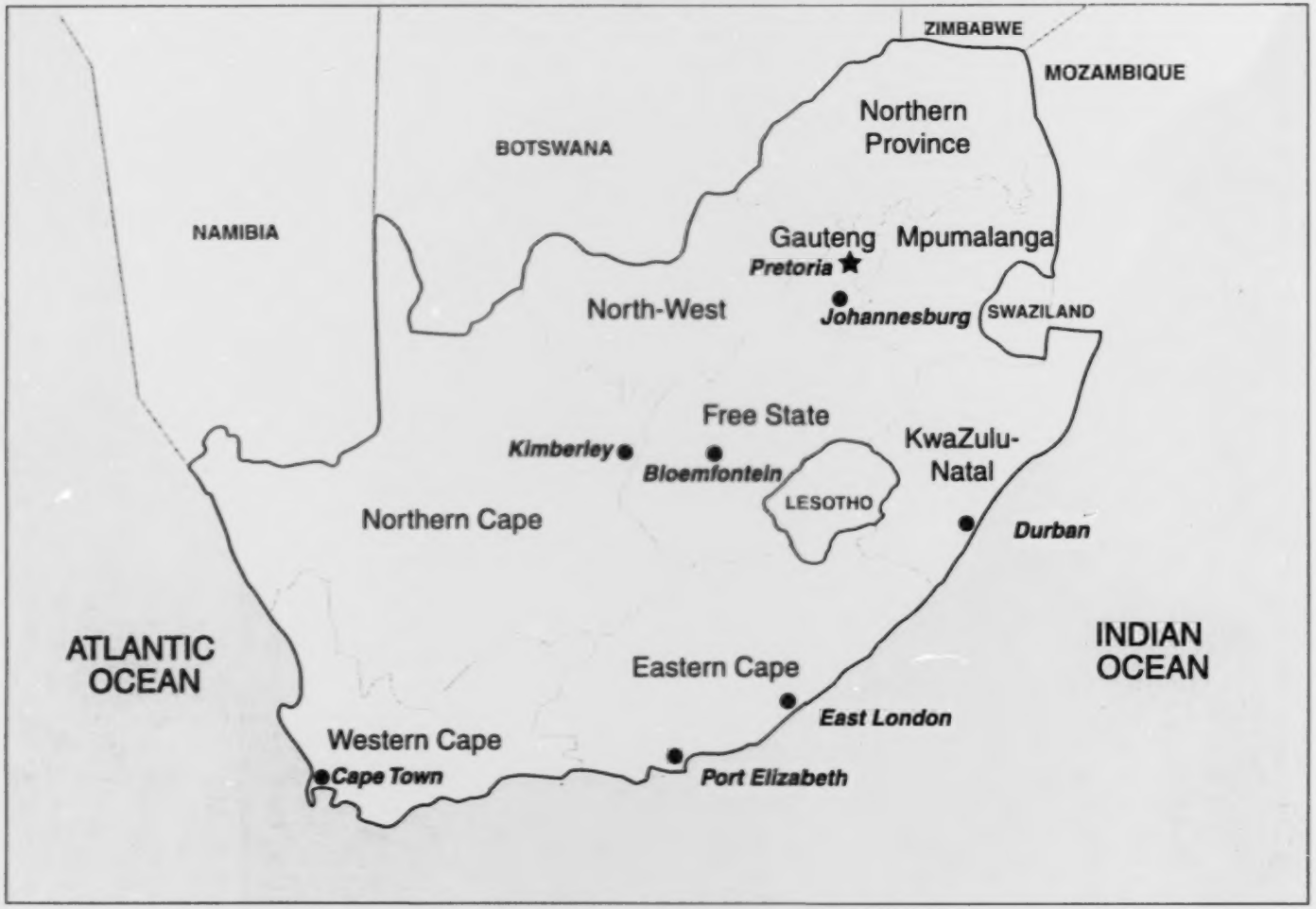
SOUTH AFRICA



map transparency #2

SETTLEMENT AND EXPANSION: DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

The process of settlement and expansion in South African history can be acknowledged and chronologized, but to be fully understood, its meaning must be derived. The following questions provide various ways of approaching the historical meaning of settlement and expansion.

1. Consider the features of indigenous African economies and the Dutch and British settler economies. How might the needs of these agriculturally based economies create competition over land and resources?

2. What is the basis of any agricultural society? Make comparisons between agricultural economies in different parts of the world.

3. What would an individual want in an agricultural economy in order to make him or her secure? Consider the existence of competing sets of claims over land and what actions this might lead to. How might conflict arise between settlers and local African states?

4. Consider the nature of governance among indigenous societies and settler communities. Link the nature of governance to the types of economies that were in place. Agriculturally based economies tend to coexist with a less-centralized state, given the situation of individuals and groups inhabiting vast stretches of land to pursue activities such as herding and food cultivation. Based on this observation, discuss the linkages between the power of competing states and the development of conflict. How did the nature of state power, weak or strong, influence the situation of competing sets of claims over land and resources? When might conflict and the use of force arise?

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5. What would the global market want from various regions of the world? How might the development of trade affect local economies? How might this new export economy place a greater demand on land and resources? How might this demand contribute to conflict? Overall, what were the advantages and disadvantages of a colonial trade economy?

6. Compare Map Transparencies #1 and #2 of southern Africa before European settlement and contemporary South Africa. Note the new geographic demarcations and contemplate the meaning of these features. Whose concerns and history do they represent? Do they reflect the diversity of African states prior to European arrival? Or do they reflect the newer, European influence in the region?

7. Discuss the meaning of early settlement and expansion in southern Africa for the future. What were some social costs? How does a history of conflict contribute to future tensions? Speculate on how this earlier period of history may or may not have influenced South Africa in the 20th century.

8. Discuss how "colonialism" is to be defined. When did "colonialism" end? Given the fact that the Dutch had been in southern Africa since 1652, were they still foreigners in the 19th century? When does a "settler" population become a "native" population? Did "colonialism" end only with the end of apartheid and the election of Nelson Mandela as president in 1994? (Note: This question can be addressed later in Lesson Three when political resistance is discussed.) Consider both African and European perspectives when evaluating this question. Consider also a comparison with United States history.

Lesson Two

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF 20TH-CENTURY SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY

Organizing Question

What are the economic and political origins of modern South Africa?

Introduction

Lesson Two of this unit discusses the modern political and economic development of South Africa. The main question of this lesson is: What are the economic and political origins of modern South Africa? With this question in mind, the goal of this lesson is to present a general overview of South Africa's economic and political development from the 19th through the 20th century.

There are three parts to this lesson:

- Historical Background
- South Africa's Race and Class Hierarchies
- The Making of South African Society: Law and Its Social Impact

Historical Background

The major thrust of development was the European mining of diamonds and gold. In 1867, diamonds were discovered near the confluence of the Orange and Vaal Rivers. In 1886, significant gold fields were found in the Transvaal. These mineral discoveries created an overnight boom in speculation, attracting individual wealth seekers from South Africa and other parts of the world. This "rush" was similar to those in California, Alaska, and Brazil.

These discoveries also led the British to further assert their control in the region, creating conflict with both the Boers and African states such as the Zulu. In 1879, the Zulu-British War transpired with the Zulu being defeated. Other African states were also politically repressed, which in turn created an African peasantry that was increasingly impoverished and displaced from land that was once theirs. Tensions also existed between the Boer settlers and the British. In 1880, the First Anglo-Boer War occurred. From 1899 to 1902, the Second Anglo-Boer War took place with the British prevailing. The number of casualties among the Boers, British, and Africans was in the tens of thousands.

With the beginnings of political stability came the rapid development of mining industries and urbanization. The "mineral revolution" led to the gradual coercion of African labor and was attended by early policies

of racial discrimination. The economic opportunities of the mining industry attracted a flood of European immigration. These new speculators sought to protect their jobs from African competition. Consequently, the thrust of the legislation passed was to coerce labor from Africans while implementing segregation measures that aimed to politically disenfranchise Africans and protect jobs for white immigrants.

When the Union of South Africa was created in 1910, unequal policies were embodied within its constitution. In 1911, an industrial color bar limiting skilled jobs to whites was established by the Mine and Works Act. In 1913, territorial segregation was formally established through the Natives Land Act. The Colour Bar Act, passed in 1926, further restricted skilled jobs to whites only. In 1936, Africans were removed from the voter roster in the Cape, thus ending their direct representation in parliament. In 1948, the victory of the National Party in government elections proved to be the advent of a new period of racial segregation and repression that became known as the apartheid period. Overall, economic and political development during the 20th century was attended by policies of racial separation that consolidated economic and political power in the hands of whites.

South Africa's Race and Class Hierarchies

Any discussion of race needs a context to frame a student's questions and understanding. The following is a general framework for understanding race in South African society. Important to understanding this issue are its links to the capitalist class structure. In addition to being discriminated against by race, Africans and others, such as Indians and Coloureds (persons of mixed-race), were exploited by white employers as a source of labor. The many complexities within this system make it difficult to generalize. The framework presented here is only preliminary in its intentions.

A student handout is included on pages 42–44 to help students address the key questions of this lesson.

A final suggestion is that since race and class are complex subjects, the teacher is encouraged to create an atmosphere that is open to discussion. These issues have relevance in the United States, and students may have strong opinions about them. Only through an open atmosphere can opinions be expressed and grappled with in a constructive manner.

Ideology and Everyday Practice: The Basis of Racial Discrimination

1. In discussing the issue of race, scholars have drawn a distinction between "ideology" and "everyday practice." Define these terms in the following order (they are also included in the "Terms and Concepts" handout on page 16):
   a) *Ideology*: Thoughts and ideas that commonly exist in a society. They consciously or unconsciously influence a person's world outlook. Ideology operates at the level of perspectives and opinions.
   b) *Everyday Practice*: The conscious or unconscious manifestation of an ideology's influence through words, actions, and deeds. "Everyday practice" consists of how a person, with certain perspectives and opinions influenced by ideology, behaves on a day-to-day basis.

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Discuss with students the relationship between "ideology" and "everyday practice." Ask them what they think these terms mean and what their relationship is.

Key Question: "What are some examples of ideology?" (*e.g., scientific ideas, religion, political ideas, economic philosophies*)

Key Question: "How do these ideologies manifest themselves in everyday practice?" (*e.g., in behavior at work, at school, at social gatherings*)

Key Question: "Where do ideologies originate?" (*often from those in positions of power and influence; "power" is discussed more specifically below*)

During the 19th century, a Western, scientific understanding of race argued that blacks were intellectually inferior. This notion has since been proven to be categorically false. During the time, this scientific understanding served as an ideology that influenced the outlook of many Europeans. This outlook in turn influenced imperialist policies of colonization. It also affected the perspectives and behavior of individuals who interacted with blacks on a day-to-day basis.

Issues of Power and Status

2. Having discussed "ideology" and "everyday practice," the teacher can now address the origins of ideology by discussing the issues of "status" and "power." Elicit, or give, definitions of "status" and "power." (Note: Definitions are also offered in the "Terms and Concepts" handout.)
   a) *Status*: One's position in society as defined relative to others.
      1) Elicit examples of people with high status in U.S. society (*such as a wealthy businessman, the president, etc.*).
      2) Discuss factors which define status: economic level, political position, education, and social standing.
      3) Explain that whites had high status in South African society. Speculate on why this was so.
   b) *Power*: The ability to influence others and get what one wants. Power is based in part on status.
      1) Elicit examples of people with power in U.S. society.
      2) Explain that in South African society, whites had power that was due in part to their political, economic, and overall social status. Moreover, this power in turn helped to reinforce their status.

Discuss briefly with students the relationship between status and power and the meaning and consequences of power.

Key Question: "How do status and power reinforce each other?" (*Power can increase status. Status also offers power. They are mutually reinforcing.*)

Key Question: "How can power be abused?" (*by protecting the social*

status of one group to the detriment of another social group)

3. In the case of South Africa, a white minority ruled over an African majority. Consider the meaning of this demographic situation and how status and power would have been maintained.

   Key Question: "How can a minority social group rule over a majority?"

   Key Question: "How can those in power implement an ideology and everyday practices that reinforce their status and power?"

   Discuss at a general level the issues of military power, legislation, and control over economic resources. Consider how Africans had little status due to lack of political, economic, and military control, though they had considerable strength as a numerical majority. Discuss the potential this situation has for change.

   Key Question: "How did the numerical majority of Africans destabilize white control?"

Class Structure and Its Components

4. Class structure is socially defined. When whites consolidated their economic power through the mining industry, they consequently divided urban South African society into classes which reflected not only the developing capitalist economy and society but also South Africa's racial hierarchy. A discriminatory ideology of race was put into practice. Economic power ensured not only a high economic status but also a high racial status for whites in South African society.

5. Using the blackboard, write the following terms in descending order: CAPITALIST CLASS, MIDDLE CLASS, and WORKING CLASS. Define these terms briefly in the following order (these are also included on the "Terms and Concepts" handout):
   a) *Working class*: People who work wage labor jobs in various industries.
   b) *Capitalist class* (business owners, investors): People who invest money into capital (raw materials, machinery) to produce resources or goods. These resources and goods are sold at a profit, which then is reinvested into further capital to produce more resources and goods.
   c) *Middle class* (politicians, intellectuals, professionals, etc.): People who compose an intermediate class between the capitalists and the working class. Though not directly involved in the production process, they can directly or indirectly support or challenge the aims of capitalists.

6. Ask students: "In a capitalist economy, what is the most important economic activity?" (*production*) "Which of these three groups is directly involved in this process?" (*working class*) "Which of these three groups actually controls this process and the resulting products?" (*capitalists*) On the board, emphasize the position of the WORKING CLASS under the CAPITALISTS. Point out that workers have little power since they do not own the goods they produce.

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Discuss how this situation could create a feeling of alienation among members of the working class.

Key Question: "What would it be like not to own the product of one's labor?" (*It could be alienating, a feeling of powerlessness coupled with consequent resentment.*)

Moreover, discuss how the linkage between working-class identity and racial identity might create a sense of alienation and resentment based on race.

Key Question: "How were Africans doubly oppressed and alienated?"(*by class and race*)

7. The MIDDLE CLASS was the third main class. Consider its intermediate position and the potential this role has for the class and racial structure. This class, like the capitalist class, was primarily white. However, educated Africans, Indians, and Coloureds also existed in this intermediate position. Many activists such as Nelson Mandela were members of the middle class, though still in a lower position due to the racial hierarchy. Discuss the social importance of this class.

   Key Question: "How might this middle class of politicians, intellectuals, school teachers, and other professionals support or challenge the class and race hierarchies?" (*through the alternatives of legislation and social activism*)

8. Remind students that other groups were part of the racial hierarchy. Specifically, these included Indians and Coloureds (those of mixed race). Indian and Coloureds occupied a shifting middle position in both the class and racial hierarchies. Discuss this situation.

   Key Question: "How did the situation of Indians and Coloureds add complexity to the racial and class hierarchies?"

The Interaction of Race and Class Hierarchies

9. To emphasize the general race and class hierarchies that existed, the final chart on the board should be as follows:

RACE	CLASS
WHITES	CAPITALISTS
COLOUREDS/INDIANS	MIDDLE CLASS
AFRICANS	WORKING CLASS

10. Ask students to examine these two coexisting hierarchies, one based on class and the other on race. Consider the correlation and interplay between the two.

    Key Question: "Do the race and class hierarchies overlap?" (*not entirely*)

    Emphasize to students that the CAPITALIST CLASS was composed of whites. However, point out that the WORKING CLASS also

consisted of whites, as well as Coloureds, Indians, and Africans. Moreover, point out that the MIDDLE CLASS consisted of a mixture of all groups, though whites held the most power. Consider the implications of this complexity.

Key Question: "How do these hierarchies add complexity to our understanding of South African society?"

It is important to explain to students how these hierarchies interacted. The economic forces of industrial capitalism create a class hierarchy with CAPITALISTS seeking to utilize the labor of the WORKING CLASS. In the case of South Africa, white CAPITALISTS sought to utilize the labor of the WORKING CLASS, though with the added concern of protecting job opportunities for white members of the WORKING CLASS. This concern resulted in separating whites, through preferential treatment, from other members of the WORKING CLASS such as Africans, thus fragmenting the class system along racial lines. This situation consequently added further oppression to the African, Indian, and Coloured members of the working class.

11. To illustrate further the interaction of race and class, it is important to emphasize that most Africans were in the lowest of the three socio-economic classes for two reasons:
    a) Because Africans were the majority population, they were perceived by white capitalists as being the cheapest source of labor. They were subsequently exploited with poor wages and poor living conditions.
    b) Racial discrimination further justified the economic exploitation and oppression of Africans.

    To summarize this discussion, consider two key questions:

    Key Question: "Did industrial activity in South Africa reflect a situation of economic exploitation or one of racial discrimination?" (*both*)

    Key Question: "Which interpretation – economic or racial – is more explanatory of the social positions of various groups?" (*Neither. They both are explanatory.*)

12. It is important to note that with the industrial class and race structure, ethnic affiliation of the various indigenous African groups disappeared in the eyes of white capitalists. Ethnic identities were maintained by Africans, however, and have endured to this day. Thus, racial identity coexisted with ethnic identity. Consider discussing how different identities (such as race, class, and ethnicity) can coexist and how a person may have had to balance or negotiate these identities depending on the situation.

    Key Question: "In what situations might an African's ethnic identity take precedence?" (*among other Africans*)

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Key Question: "In what situations might class and racial identities take precedence over ethnic identity?" (*among whites, Indians, and Coloureds*)

13. Emphasize that the class and racial structure *evolved over time*, being motivated by economic factors and implemented and supported by law. Race and class ideologies guided opinions and perceptions. Legislation enforced the "everyday practice" of these opinions. This leads us to a discussion of these hierarchies in practice and the legislation that was passed over time to maintain them.

The Making of South African Society: Law and Its Social Impact

1. As we have discussed, 20th-century South African society consisted basically of race and class hierarchies. Whites dominated racially by dominating economically and politically.

2. Although the race-class system remained intact through most of the 20th century, Africans, Indians, and Coloureds increasingly challenged the system. The consequences of economic development and the urbanization that followed created new challenges to white minority power. To understand how the white ruling minority reacted to these challenges, the history of 20th-century white rule can be divided into two periods: the pre-1948 period and the post-1948 period.

   The significance of 1948 is the election of the National Party to the national government. The election of this party is a reflection of the development of Afrikaner (Boer) nationalism, which sought to protect the political and economic privileges of whites. The culmination of this nationalism during the 1940s is due to social changes that started in the early part of the century. To understand these changes, developments in the pre-1948 period must be examined.

Goals of Segregation: Control of Labor and Land

3. Early segregation in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was instituted for two reasons:

   - to control labor
   - to control ownership of land

   These two reasons are closely related. Control over land not only enabled whites to have greater control over natural resources, but also enabled them to coerce labor from Africans, Indians, and Coloureds. Having little land or land of poor quality, many were forced to seek a means of subsistence by working in white urban areas. Overall, control over land and labor helped to reinforce the social power and status of whites at the top of the race and class hierarchies.

   This situation of separation and coercion was the central paradox of white political policy. This paradox should be emphasized for students. A situation of contradictory aims arose, one of demanding labor from an oppressed population while also demanding that this population remain geographically separate from those who were demanding their labor. Not only did Africans, Indians, and Coloureds challenge

the policies of this conflicting premise, but the white-controlled government found itself constantly having to revise legislation to bolster this system.

This leads us to a small group activity involving legislative measures that were undertaken by the government to create and enforce this system of segregation.

4. This small group activity has three goals:

   - to have students gain a sense of government policy in South Africa during the 20th century
   - to familiarize students with the role of law in reinforcing the racial and economic hierarchies that existed in South Africa
   - to have students discuss the impact of laws on the everyday lives of individuals

Procedure
Handouts #1 and #2 describe legislation from the pre-1948 period and the post-1948 apartheid period. Students should be divided into eight groups. Distribute Handout #1 to four of the groups and Handout #2 to the other four groups. Assign each group one piece of legislation. (These procedures can be improvised by the teacher according to class size, etc.) Class discussion will be divided into two parts:

Part I
After group members discuss among themselves their piece of legislation and the questions included, each group should present to the class in chronological order the piece of legislation they have discussed and evaluated. During these presentations, the teacher should emphasize for the class the meaning of each piece of legislation. Two questions can be asked to discern this meaning:

- How did each law affect the lives of individuals?
- How did each law sustain the political and economic system maintained by whites?

In addition to presenting the laws chronologically, they can also be discussed on the basis of their intended impact. These laws had the following effects: how people were identified (Population Registration Act); where people could live (Natives Land Act, Group Areas Act); how people could move (pass laws); where people could work (Mines and Works Act, pass laws); how people were politically represented (Natives Representation Act, Bantu Authorities Act); and how people could conduct their personal relationships (Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts). Discuss also how these laws fit into a general pattern of labor coercion and racial separation, and how these two aims may have conflicted with each other.

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Part II
After the presentations are done, teachers should draw a larger picture, making comparisons between the pre-1948 and post-1948 periods. The following questions should be raised:

- What are the similarities and differences between the two periods?
- What trends are apparent?
- Which period was more oppressive and why?

To answer some of these questions, it is important to recognize the trends of industrialization and urbanization in both periods. As industrialization increased, so did the process of urbanization. Discuss with students why urbanization occurred and relate this development to similar trends worldwide. (*During the first half of the 20th century, urban job opportunities, the Great Depression of the 1930s, and both world wars encouraged migration to towns and cities. In South Africa, urbanization was also a result of the African reserve system, which became increasingly constrained by population increases.*)

5. As this process of urban migration began to challenge the early legislative attempts at territorial segregation, a parallel trend of increasing oppression developed. An important year to emphasize for students is 1948. Though discriminatory segregation measures were passed before World War II, the official policy of "apartheid" was not implemented until after 1948 with the political victory of the Afrikaner National Party that year. *This distinction is important to make for students.* During World War II, urban areas witnessed an increase in the number of African residents. Many whites perceived this development as a threat. Subsequently this perception influenced Afrikaner (Boer) nationalism, which sought to reinforce white political and economic control. The National Party, which spearheaded this movement, gained political momentum that culminated in winning a majority of parliamentary seats in the 1948 election. The general policy of "apartheid," which means "apartness," led to a number of new legislative measures that sought to restrengthen control over South Africa's non-white population. The term itself came from a government-sponsored commission on how to deal with the race question.

6. Although similar goals of segregation and population control existed in the pre-1948 period, apartheid presented a new system of measures that were even more oppressive. Point out how laws intruded upon personal lives more so than before, giving the government even more control over the populace (*cite the Population Registration Act, Mixed Marriages Act, and Immorality Act*). Discuss also the meaning of the Bantu Authorities Act and its plan for independent "homelands." How did this plan intend to be a "final solution"? (*Essentially it aimed to exclude Africans from South Africa proper by forcing individuals into areas that would be recognized as "independent." This plan would not only segregate Africans but also cut costs for the government if these territories*

were independent politically.)

Use Map Transparency #3 to highlight this plan of the Bantu Authorities Act. Consider the small amount of land that was allocated to Africans and speculate on the economic problems and poor health and living conditions that such a situation would create.

Conclusion

To conclude, summarize the basic trends in South Africa during the 20th century:

- the development of a modern, industrialized society
- the development of class and race hierarchies
- the enactment of legislation that sought to maintain these hierarchies with increasing oppression

The construction of a racial hierarchy can be compared to trends in other parts of Africa such as Zimbabwe, Kenya, and Angola, places that also had large European settler populations. The race situation in South Africa can also be compared to other parts of the world such as Brazil and the United States.

Important to emphasize is the political ferment that this oppression engendered. Within the townships that developed on the outskirts of urban areas, communities existed that had common economic and political grievances, thus planting the seeds for activist coalitions. Political activism against government oppression is the main focus of the third and final lesson.

Recommended Videos

The following are recommended videos that can be used to help illustrate the various historical conditions of South African society. Though there are many videos to select from, these have been chosen for their quality and availability. These videos may also accompany Lesson Three. The teacher is encouraged to preview videos for their content.

CHANGING THIS COUNTRY. San Francisco: California Newsreel, 1988. (58 min.) A documentary film of trade unionism in South Africa with interviews of South African workers.

CHILDREN OF APARTHEID. San Francisco: California Newsreel, 1987. (50 min.) A documentary consisting of interviews with South African children during the apartheid period regarding their views of the future.

CRY FREEDOM. Universal Pictures. Universal City, CA : MCA Home Video, 1988. (157 min.) Directed by Richard Attenborough. Starring: Denzel Washington, Kevin Kline. Note: This film is about Steve Biko, a political activist from the 1970s. This film could be used for either this lesson or the next lesson on political activism.

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CRY, THE BELOVED COUNTRY. Malibu, CA: Monterey HomeVideo, 1992. (100 min.) Directed by Zoltan Korda. Starring: Sidney Poitier. Based on the book by South African novelist Alan Paton.

A DRY WHITE SEASON. New York: CBS FOX Video, 1990. (107 min.) Directed by Euzhan Palcy. Starring: Donald Sutherland, Janet Suzman, Jurgen Prochnow, Zakes Mokae, Susan Sarandon, Marlon Brando. Based on the book by South African novelist Andre Brink.

GENERATIONS OF RESISTANCE. San Francisco: California Newsreel, 1979. (52 min.) A documentary film of political activism in South Africa that uses archival photographs, newsreel, and interviews.

MAIDS AND MADAMS. London: Channel 4 Television Co. ; [distributed by] New York : Filmmakers Library, 1985. (53 min.) A documentary film that addresses the domestic relationships and political activism of African maids and their female employers in apartheid South Africa.

MANDELA, SON OF AFRICA, FATHER OF A NATION. New York: Island Pictures, 1995. (118 min.) Directed by Jo Menell and Angus Gibson. A film that portrays the life of Nelson Mandela. A 1996 Academy Award nominee for best documentary.

PRIME TIME SOUTH AFRICA. San Francisco: California Newsreel, 1995–1996. (110 min.) This video contains clips of South African television: ads, sitcoms, game shows, and "soap opera" dramas. Though these clips are from post-apartheid South Africa, they are still useful in illustrating aspects of South African society. This video can also be used for the next lesson, which discusses South Africa after the 1994 election.

ROBBEN ISLAND. Charlottesville, VA : Lindy Wilson, 1988. (53 min.) A documentary film of the former maximum security prison that held Nelson Mandela, among other activists.

SOUTH AFRICA BELONGS TO US. San Francisco: California Newsreel, 1980. (35 min.) A documentary film consisting of interviews with African women from various parts of South Africa.

SOUTH AFRICA: THE WASTED LAND. New York: Filmakers Library, 1990. (52 min.) A documentary that links apartheid to environmental issues and sustainability. Whites possess the best land while the African majority struggles with land that is polluted and originally poor in quality.

SOUTH AFRICAN CHRONICLES. New York: First Run Icarus Films, 1987. (108 min.) A series of films that view apartheid through the everyday life of blacks and whites. Topics include election campaigning in rural South Africa, a meeting of a right wing Afrikaner movement, and elderly people in Soweto.

Key Questions:
South Africa's Race and Class Hierarchies

Ideology and Everyday Practice:
"What are some examples of ideology?"

"How do these ideologies manifest themselves in everyday practice?"

"Where do ideologies originate?"

Issues of Power and Status:
"How do status and power reinforce each other?"

"How can power be abused?"

"How can a minority social group rule over a majority?"

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"How can those in power implement an ideology and everyday practices that reinforce their status and power?"

"How did the numerical majority of Africans destabilize white control?"

Class Structure and Its Components:
"What would it be like not to own the product of one's labor?"

"How were Africans doubly oppressed and alienated?"

"How might the middle class of politicians, intellectuals, schoolteachers, and other professionals support or challenge the class and race hierarchies?"

"How did the situation of Indians and Coloureds add complexity to the racial and class hierarchies?"

The Interaction of Race and Class Hierarchies:
"Do the race and class hierarchies overlap?"

"How do these hierarchies add complexity to our understanding of South African society?"

"Did industrial activity in South Africa reflect a situation of economic exploitation or one of racial discrimination?"

"Which interpretation – economic or racial – is more explanatory of the social positions of various groups?"

"In what situations might an African's ethnic identity take precedence?"

"In what situations might class and racial identities take precedence over ethnic identity?"

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Legislation of the Pre-1948 Period

With the final military subjugation of African states during the late 19th century and the development of an industrial economy came a series of new laws. This legislation was designed to both coerce labor from Africans and create a system of territorial segregation. Overall, these laws were designed to protect the political and economic power of whites with Africans, Indians, and Coloureds suffering the cost.

Pass laws

1) Pass laws existed since the late 18th century. In the late 19th century, they became a significant method of controlling African labor in the mining industry. Essentially, they required Africans to carry identification, similar to passports. These passes limited their mobility and employment.
2) Discuss the meaning of these pass laws. How did they contribute to control and alienation in South African society? What is it like to have to show identification to move from place to place within your own country? Consider how these laws limited freedom of movement and employment.

Mines and Works Act of 1911

1) Various laws were enacted to control the position of African labor within industries. The Mines and Works Act of 1911 limited the majority of skilled jobs to white workers only. Strikes by African workers were also made illegal.
2) Discuss how this law created an "artificial" system of labor control. In other words, according to basic economic theory, mine owners would constantly seek the cheapest source of labor. If African workers were the cheapest source of labor, the practice of reserving skilled jobs for white workers would unnecessarily raise costs. Speculate as to why this situation existed. Moreover, discuss the alienation this act inflicted on African workers. What is it like to have a job with no possibility of promotion?

Natives Land Act of 1913

1) This act limited African land ownership and residence to reserve areas. Essentially it constructed a reservation system similar to the one in the United States for Native Americans. Though the majority of the population (67 percent) was African, only 7 percent of the total land was allocated for them. This percentage of land rose to only about 12 percent by the beginning of World War II. Moreover, the quality of land was poor. Overall, this system was designed to give whites the best land and create a system of cheap labor reservoirs where Africans would have to seek outside sources of work to support themselves.
2) Discuss the meaning of this land alienation. What is the importance of land? What is the meaning of forced removal? What is it like to be told where to live?

Natives Representation Act of 1936

1) This act limited the political representation of Africans in parliament. Africans in the Cape were removed from the regular voter roster and could vote only for three whites who would represent them in parliament. Africans from all four provinces were represented only by four white senators.
2) Discuss the meaning of this legislation and its impact on the representation of African concerns in parliament. Was fair representation possible under this act? (Consider the fact that Africans formed the majority population.) What trend does this act reflect?

handout #2

Legislation of the Post-1948 Apartheid Period

Though discriminatory segregation measures were passed before World War II, the official policy of "apartheid" was not implemented until after 1948 with the political victory of the Afrikaner National Party that year. During World War II, urban areas witnessed an increase in the number of Africans. This was part of a larger trend of industrialization being followed by urbanization. Many whites perceived this immigration as a threat. Subsequently this perception influenced Afrikaner (Boer) nationalism, which sought to reinforce white political and economic control. The National Party, which spearheaded this movement, gained political momentum that culminated in winning a majority of parliamentary seats in the 1948 election. The policy of "apartheid," which means "apartness," led to a series of new legislative measures that sought to restrengthen control over South Africa's African, Indian, and Coloured populations. The term itself came from a government-sponsored commission on how to address the race question.

Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 and the Immorality Act of 1950

1) The former act prohibited interracial marriages, and the latter prohibited sexual relations between individuals of different races.
2) Discuss the meaning of these laws. How do they reflect the increasing control the government had over the private lives of individuals? Consider how members of all racial groups were alienated by the enforcement of these laws.

Group Areas Act of 1950

1) This act divided urban areas into racial zones. Racial groups could live and work only in specified areas. Similar to the earlier Natives Land Act of 1913, this act and its revisions contributed to the geographic displacement of Africans and this time Indians and Coloureds as well.
2) What is the government's rationale behind this legislation? How might individuals and families be impacted by it? Speculate on the meaning of restricted living and working space for families and individuals. How did forced removal contribute to oppression and subsequent feelings of alienation?

Population Registration Act of 1950

1) This act officially categorized individuals by race. This act, in conjunction with the Mixed Marriages Act (which prohibited interracial marriage) and the Group Areas Act (which limited individuals to certain areas by race), contributed to the breakup of families in some cases.
2) Consider the impact of this act as described above. How does this act reflect the degree of control sought by the government?

Bantu Authorities Act of 1951

1) This act and its amendments effectively sought to end African presence in South Africa except for meeting labor needs. It attempted to do so by creating "homelands" that would undergo a process of "separate development" under the guidance of the white government. These "homelands" would eventually become independent nations separate from South Africa.
2) Discuss how this legislation was perceived by the government as a "final solution." How did this act further alienate and oppress the African population? Consider that the amount of land designated was minuscule and poor in quality. How might this land restriction contribute to poorer health and living conditions?

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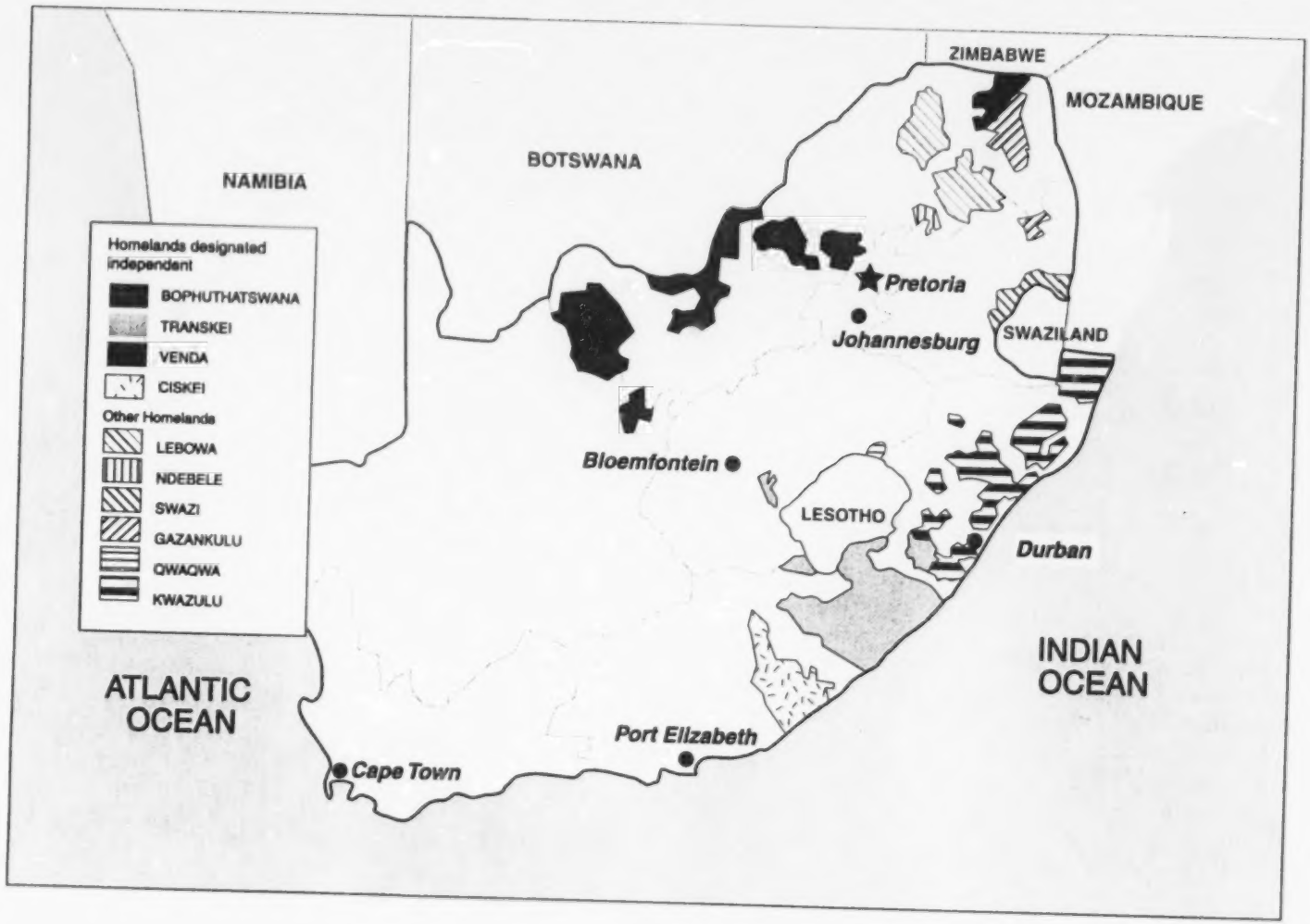
SOUTH AFRICA



map transparency #3

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Lesson Three

RESISTANCE AND THE END OF WHITE MINORITY RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Organizing Question

What are the origins to the end of apartheid?

Introduction

Lesson Three of this unit discusses the history of political resistance in South Africa during the 20th century. The main question of this lesson is: What are the origins to the end of apartheid? To answer this question, this lesson will give a broad overview of political activism during the 20th century in South Africa.

There are four parts to this lesson:

- Historical Background
- An Overview and Assessment of Political Activism
- The 1994 Election and Its Meaning
- Political Poster Activity

The final activity of Lesson Three is intended to reinforce the content of Lessons Two and Three. Concepts are brought out in the political poster video presentation regarding strategies for political action and resistance. These were actual posters used by activists. After interpreting the imagery and meaning of these posters, students will engage in a poster-making activity designed to engage them in current issues in South Africa.

Historical Background

White control over political representation and the economy met resistance since the early part of the 20th century. Before World War II, political activism predominately took three forms: trade unions, independent churches, and political organizations. Among trade unions, the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) was the largest. Founded in 1919 in Cape Town, it grew to a membership of 100,000 by 1927. It fought for higher wages, improved working conditions, and other rights in both urban and rural areas. Independent churches, such as the African Methodist Episcopal Church, appealed to broader political opinions and concerns by providing a community forum for expressing grievances and collective action. Political organizations were also being founded, such as the South African Native National Congress in 1912. This would later become the African National Congress (ANC). In 1926, the ANC convened a national conference at Bloemfontein aimed at uniting activists against racial discrimination. Later that year, a conference was held in which the African Political Organization (APO),

the main Coloured political organization, and the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) joined the ANC to help form political unity among Africans, Indians, and Coloureds.

Apartheid ushered in a new era of concerted resistance. In 1952, the ANC and its allies began a campaign of passive resistance. A Congress of the People was held in 1955 as an attempt to unify activist groups. Discouraged by the lack of progress, activists founded the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) in 1959 as a more radical alternative. These developments were met with further government confrontation which led to violence. In 1960, the Sharpeville Massacre took place in which 67 African anti-pass law demonstrators were killed. Moreover, the government placed a ban on African political organizations, and ended African and Coloured parliament representation through whites. In 1964, Nelson Mandela and other activist leaders went on trial and were sentenced to life imprisonment.

In 1976, a surge of activism took place inspired by the ideas of the Black Consciousness movement. In response to the Soweto Uprising of African students, violent government suppression occurred, leaving at least 575 people dead in Soweto and other townships. The government began to make some concessions. In 1979, African unions achieved the right to legally organize.

Resistance continued during the mid-1980s, with international pressure further motivating the government to take action. In 1984, a new constitution provided for limited participation in central government by Coloureds and Indians but not Africans. In 1985, a limited dialogue was established between the government and imprisoned and exiled ANC leaders. In 1986, pass laws were repealed. However, a national state of emergency was declared resulting in unrest, detentions, and suppression of the press.

Continued widespread resistance along with international pressure gradually forced political change. A change in leadership took place in 1989 with F. W. de Klerk succeeding P. W. Botha as president. In 1990, the ban on the ANC and PAC was removed. Nelson Mandela and others were released from prison. In 1990 and 1991, various legislative acts that suppressed Africans were repealed, including the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, the Group Areas Act, and the Population Registration Act. African political organizations were legalized, and the state of emergency ended. Negotiations between various groups began, and in 1993 an interim constitution was approved by de Klerk, Mandela, and others. African efforts at self-determination culminated in 1994 with the ANC winning the first nonracial democratic election and Nelson Mandela being sworn in as president. A government of national unity was formed.

An Overview and Assessment of Political Activism

The resistance strategies employed by various activists were diverse in nature and changed over time. The following is an overview of these strategies in both the pre-1948 and post-1948 periods. Important questions for the teacher to raise are:

- How do these strategies relate to the class and racial hierarchies and government legislation discussed in Lesson Two?

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- What are the differences between these strategies?
- What do these differences reflect?
- What broader trends of activism can be observed?

To answer these questions, a small group activity has been designed to engage students in the strategies of different activist groups. Teachers should refer to Handouts #1 and #2 included in this lesson. Handout #1 provides an overview of the strategies of the pre-1948 period. Handout #2 discusses the post-1948 period. Teachers should make copies of the handouts for each student before class. Each handout will be distributed and addressed separately.

For Handout #1, divide the class into three groups corresponding to the three forms of political activism listed on the handout. After group members discuss the nature of their assigned form of activism and answer the given questions among themselves, each group should present their conclusions to the rest of the class.

For Handout #2, divide the class into two groups corresponding to the two main strategies of the post-1948 period. Following the same procedures, group members should first discuss their assigned strategy among themselves and then present their conclusions to the class.

To summarize, teachers and students should consider the goals of political groups, their constituency, and the time period. Teachers should draw comparisons between strategies and discern the meaning of these strategies based on time period and constituency. Moreover, teachers should elicit ideas on the relationship between these strategies and the race and class hierarchies discussed in Lesson Two.

- How did strategies change over time? (*Strategies became more militant.*)
- Why did these strategies change? (*Racial injustice increased during the apartheid era.*)

An important observation to emphasize to students is that the concerns of trade unions, independent churches, and political organizations were not mutually exclusive. Many basic concerns such as political rights and economic well-being were shared by all three. This observation raises other questions.

- Why is there a diversity of approaches? (*Numerous individuals were affected in numerous ways. Each group appealed to different people for different reasons based on goals and strategies.*)
- What does this diversity of approaches reflect? (*The diversity of those who were oppressed, the diverse ways in which people were oppressed, and generally the wide-reaching effects that racial injustice*

had throughout society.)

Overall, students should gain a sense of the intention and meaning of certain strategies and, through assessing these aspects, be able to form opinions about their political effectiveness.

Note to the Teacher: It is important to emphasize that activists did not consist solely of Africans, Indians, and Coloureds. White South Africans did participate in activism against government policies, particularly through class-based organizations such as the Communist Party of South Africa. Many white intellectuals, such as writers and scholars, also criticized government policies.

Also important to recognize are the historical and geographic contexts in which this activism existed. Despite government efforts to suppress activism, South Africa witnessed continent-wide changes that challenged policies of suppressing the independence of Africans. In the period 1966–68, Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland all became independent. In 1975 and 1976, Mozambique and Angola became independent. These achievements in southern Africa inspired the thoughts and actions of activists in South Africa.

The 1994 Election and Its Meaning

South Africa witnessed fundamental historic change during the early 1990s. After years of resistance and increasing international pressure, white control over the South African government began to loosen. In 1990, the ban on the ANC and other activist parties was ended. Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners were released from prison. In 1990 and 1991, various repressive laws were repealed, such as the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, the Group Areas Act, and the Population Registration Act. After centuries of resistance, African efforts at self-determination culminated in 1994 with the ANC winning the first nonracial, democratic election and Nelson Mandela being sworn in as president. This was a profound historical moment.

Despite this victory, South Africa remains in a situation of transition. After years of oppression, many social problems could not change overnight. Problems that still exist include extreme poverty, violent crime, poor health and living conditions, and social tensions between various ethnic and racial groups. Efforts have been made to reconcile these differences. For example, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has served as a national forum for South Africans to confront past crimes with the hopes of mending long-standing wounds through confession in an official courtroom setting. Other problems, such as the gap between rich and poor, are more complex to solve. Political change has occurred, but many aspects of society from the apartheid era persist.

To help students gain a sense of the current situation in South Africa, a short readers' theater has been provided. The script is designed as a television news panel, with an anchor interviewing two political leaders from South Africa. Each offers a perspective on South Africa's current situation.

Teachers should make three copies of the script and copies of the "Readers' Theater Questionnaire" handout for all other students. Three

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students should be assigned to the individual roles. After brief preparation, they read the script aloud in front of the class. Those students not participating in reading the script should take notes using the "Readers' Theater Questionnaire" handout that is provided regarding these perspectives. These notes will be important. The social issues touched upon will form the basis of the poster-making activity that follows.

The script focuses on two central issues that have confronted South Africans: the process of reconciliation attempted through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the process of improving everyday social conditions as promised in the constitution. These are important issues that touch upon themes of the past and aspirations for the future.

Political Poster Activity

This video activity is intended to give students a tangible sense of South Africa's political activism. The posters included are actual posters used by various activist groups. They are primarily from the 1980s. They are archived in the South African poster collection at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

A "Video Script" is provided for the teacher to follow. This script gives historical background for each poster.

During the presentation, the teacher should not only provide the historical background of each poster, but encourage students to interpret the aesthetic features of the posters. The following questions should help guide teachers with this visual interpretation:

- What elements exist in each poster? What kind of text (names and statements), visual symbols or photos, and colors are used?
- What catches one's eye in each poster? What text or symbols predominate?
- How are these various elements balanced and to what effect?
- Overall, what is the central message of each poster? How are these messages conveyed?

In sum, through visual interpretation, students should gain a sense of how political posters can be effective in conveying a certain political position or strategy. Teachers should draw linkages between these posters and previous discussions of political strategies and political and economic conditions. An understanding of these linkages is crucial for students in the poster-making activity.

For the poster-making activity, students should be divided into groups at the teacher's discretion. Based on the knowledge they have gained from the readers' theater and the poster video, students should create posters (with materials provided at the discretion of the teacher) that address current issues existing in South Africa, such as crime, poverty, racial conciliation, and hopes for prosperity in the future. This

activity provides an opportunity for students to transform their knowledge into a "hands-on" engagement with contemporary social issues.

Conclusion

To conclude, several points should be highlighted:

- the long and diverse history of political activism during the 20th century
- the variety of groups and strategies involved
- the profound meaning of the 1994 election
- the variety of social problems that still persist from the apartheid era

Overall, students should be able to reflect upon these recent changes in South Africa as part of trends that have developed over centuries. The episodes of South African history — settlement and expansion, industrialization and the development of class and race hierarchies, political resistance and change — have built upon each other. To understand South Africa's present and future, students must understand its past.

South Africa also must be understood in a global context. Many other parts of the world experienced similar historical episodes that resulted from *external* (global) and *internal* (local) influences. Former European colonies continue to struggle for economic and cultural independence, even after achieving political independence.

Of course, South Africa does have a unique history, incomparable with the rest of the world. Both similarities and differences must be appreciated.

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Political Activism of the Pre-1948 Period

Political activism during this period took three main forms: trade unions, independent churches, and political organizations. All three had individual characteristics that deserve consideration.

trade unions

1) Working-class grievances soon developed among African workers employed by the mining industry. These common sentiments based on poor wages and harsh working conditions led to unionization. The first mass miners' strike occurred in 1918 with a boycott of company-owned stores that sold overpriced goods to workers. In 1920, a strike of 71,000 African mine workers in the Transvaal took place, the largest until 1946. The Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) was the largest union. Founded in 1919 in Cape Town, it grew to a membership of 100,000 by 1927. It fought for higher wages, improved working conditions, and other rights in both urban and rural areas. Overall, these unions sought to improve the lives of workers.
2) Considering the discussions of Lesson Two, identify the linkages between the class and race hierarchies and union activism. How were unions a response to these conditions? Make a list of the concerns that workers might have. Then consider what strategies might be used to express grievances. The following questions may be used as guidelines: How does a strike work? How is one organized? What is it organized against? How can a strike succeed?

independent churches

1) Some churches in South Africa broke away from European institutional affiliations and were led by African clergy. Some other churches were founded by African-American missionaries, specifically the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. These independent churches appealed to broader political opinions and concerns by providing a community forum for expressing grievances. Religious leaders were also able to combine prophecy, morality, and atonement with political activism that resisted racial discrimination for a better future.
2) Discuss the role of religious institutions. How do they provide a community center? How can they help create coalitions? How can religion provide a moral philosophy for political action?

political organizations

1) Political organizations were also being founded among educated, middle-class Africans, Coloureds, and Indians. These organizations include the African National Congress (ANC), the African People's Organization (APO), and the South African Indian Congress (SAIC), respectively. (This last organization was founded by Mohandas Gandhi, who would later help lead India to independence from Great Britain.) These groups fought for general political rights for Africans, Indians, and Coloureds, who were increasingly disenfranchised. At times, these organizations united. At other times, they worked independently.
2) Considering the legislation discussed in Lesson Two, describe the political situation for Africans, Indians, and Coloureds and link it to the formation and activism of political organizations. Contemplate the rationale for political organizations working either separately or together.

handout #2

Political Activism of the Post-1948 Apartheid Period

In addressing the activism of the post-1948 period, it is significant to observe the changes in strategies over time rathering than comparing the strategies between different political groups. This shift can be described as one from "passive resistance" to "active resistance."

passive resistance

1) During the 1950s, the African National Congress (ANC) and South African Indian Congress (SAIC) practiced a campaign of passive resistance as a means of political protest. The action of this campaign involved defying discriminatory laws and measures. Thousands were arrested. In 1955, at the urging of the ANC, a Congress of the People was held that enlisted the support of the African People's Organization (APO), the SAIC, the white Congress of Democrats, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions. Participants at this meeting adopted the Freedom Charter, which would later become the official policy of the ANC. It demanded a series of equal rights including freedom of speech, movement, and assembly along with demands for equal education and employment opportunities. Despite these efforts, the government responded with arrests and further repression. This response created frustration and division among political activists. The Pan-Africanist Congress was formed in 1959 as an alternative to the ANC. In 1960, it led a pass-law protest in that was ended by the Sharpeville Massacre. South African police shot 67 protestors outside a police station in Sharpeville, a township close to Johannesburg. This event was a turning point in the history of activism.
2) Discuss the meaning of passive resistance. How can political action be both "passive" and "resistance"? Is passive resistance effective and why? What reasons (moral, strategic, limited resources/participation) might there be for "passive" rather than more "active" resistance? Given the government responses described above, how might passive resistance cause frustration?

active resistance

1) After Sharpeville, a more active form of resistance took precedence during the 1960s and 1970s. This culminated in the Black Consciousness movement, which advocated black power and active protest against government policies. Steve Biko was one of the main leaders of this movement. The government responded violently. During the Soweto Uprising of 1976–77, many were arrested and injured. Several hundred protestors were killed. Biko was later arrested and beaten to death while in police custody. This violence forced many into exile. Some received guerrilla training in other African countries. Violence persisted through the 1980s.
2) Discuss the meaning of "active resistance." What are the differences between "passive" and "active" resistance? How might active resistance be more effective? Under what conditions might active resistance be necessary? Is this resistance justified if it results in violence? What moral questions must be confronted? Does the end justify the means? Can resistance be both active and nonviolent? How can two sides reconcile their differences after a period of active resistance and violence?

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"South Africa in Transition": A Television News Magazine Program

NEWS MAGAZINE ANCHOR: Tonight on our program, "South Africa in Transition," we are pleased to have a distinguished panel of guests to discuss contemporary issues in South Africa. On our panel are: South Africa's Deputy President, Thabo Mbeki, and South Africa's Minister of Justice, Dullah Omar. Thank you both for participating.

My first question regards the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Justice Omar, could you provide us with an assessment? Has this commission led to a sense of national healing?

DULLAH OMAR, Minister of Justice, South Africa: "Firstly, I would say that the victims of apartheid, the black men and women, children, who suffered so much during the apartheid years, have displayed remarkable generosity of approach. In general, they have not asked for revenge or vengeance; they've asked for the truth, and they asked for a measure of justice and understanding. On the other hand, quite frankly, in my view, the perpetrators of apartheid crimes have not been as forthcoming as they should have been...."

NEWS MAGAZINE ANCHOR: How does the progress of this commission fit into the larger picture? Though there are efforts to reconcile the past in this national forum, there also is a high crime rate in South Africa that seems to indicate a continuing social unrest and dissatisfaction at the local level.

DULLAH OMAR: "There is nothing mysterious about the nature of crime in our country. We have a society in which there are some people who are very rich, who wallow in luxury, and you have millions of black South Africans who live in squatter camps, with a large percentage, at times up to 50 percent, who have no work, and who live under those terrible conditions. They have families to look after, children who have to go to school, and they live under terribly miserable conditions. Now, when you have a situation of that kind, terrible socioeconomic conditions, and you've inherited a culture of violence, after all, our state, our previous state was based upon violence, and the use of violence was the order of the day, when you have that combination, you — you have a great deal of brutalization which is a characteristic of our society, so part of our task as a new democratic government is to reverse that culture of brutality and the culture of violence which exists."

NEWS MAGAZINE ANCHOR: Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, as the chosen successor of Nelson Mandela to head the ANC, what are your thoughts on South Africa in transition? In 1996, South Africa adopted a new constitution that provided many guarantees, including adequate housing and living conditions. Has the government succeeded in meeting these promises?

THABO MBEKI, Deputy President, South Africa: "I think we've done pretty well. I mean, you see, for instance, if you take a lot of the rural areas, where your principal problem, your most pressing problem, will not be houses, but will be clean water. Many villages now have got access to clean water which they didn't have before. And it makes an enormous impact on the lives of people, and it communicates that message to them, that here is a government that indeed has begun to change our life for the better, so I think across the board on very many things, programs introduced in '94, free health care and feeding of children who otherwise would go hungry, these things make an impact on people so that they can say that indeed their lives are changing."

NEWS MAGAZINE ANCHOR: What about the role of white South Africans? Many expressed that race relations were improving, though this opinion has declined. Has the withdrawal of the National Party from the unity government in 1996 caused this shift?

THABO MBEKI: "No, it wouldn't have anything to do with that, but it might have something to do with our beginning to address these questions of change, of transformation, of the creation of a non-racial South Africa, because you can't remain only with a political settlement and leave unchanged, untouched the social and economic and other relations among [the] South African population, and I would imagine that you would find whites who would be fearful of that kind of change."

NEWS MAGAZINE ANCHOR: It sounds as if South Africans still have many issues to confront in the near future: issues of racial conciliation, the issue of the economic gap between rich and poor, and the issue of improving the state infrastructure to help raise the standard of living.

I thank you both for your comments.

Note to Teacher: The above script is based upon the following, dated interviews.

Omar Interview (April 8, 1997):
http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/africa/april97/south_africa_4-8.html
Mbeki Interview (July 24, 1996):
http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/africa/july96/mbeki_7-24.html

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DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

While listening to "South Africa in Transition," consider the following questions:

1. What are some of the problems with conducting the Truth and Reconciliation Commission? Why or why not might a person confess to past crime?

2. What are some of the current problems existing in South Africa?

3. How are these present conditions related to South Africa's past?

4. How important is the government's role in helping to fix these problems? What can the government do?

5. What role can ordinary South Africans play? What would you do?

6. How can ordinary people help bring about racial conciliation?

7. Beyond ending racial discrimination, what other kinds of changes should be sought? If you were a South African, what kind of changes would you like to see made?

Political Poster Activity

The following is a video script to help teachers explain the significance of each poster. It is important that the teacher provide not only the historical and political context of each poster, but also a visual analysis. This script addresses both aspects.

Poster:

#1. This poster, produced by the black South African National Students' Congress (SANSCO) and the white National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), commemorates the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre. NUSAS and SANSCO were student organizations during the 1980s. Notice the emphasis on the "Student" caption, the date, and the photographs. How are the photographs arranged? (*before, during, and after the massacre*) What do they tell the viewer about what happened? Have students describe the content of each photo.

#2. This poster was produced during the 1980s by an anti-apartheid group known as Black Sash. This group was composed of white, middle-class South African women who wore white dresses with black sashes as an act of demonstration. Notice the photo that predominates this poster. Why are children being used? What do they symbolically represent? (*the future of South Africa*) How are they positioned towards each other? (*confrontationally*) How does the caption provide interpretation for this image? What does the term "war" suggest about the mood in South Africa? (*that violence leading to national conflict was a distinct possibility*) What message is this poster trying to send?

#3. The origin of this poster is unknown. What do you notice first in this poster? (*pack of cigarettes*) What are the cigarettes called? What linkage is being made between cigarettes and apartheid? (*that cigarettes and apartheid are equivalent: both are unhealthy*) What is the general message of this poster? (*apartheid is an "addiction" or condition that needs to end*)

#4. This poster was produced by the African National Congress (ANC) in 1979 at its London branch. What is the title of this poster? How does the image of the child and the provided description articulate this theme? (*by highlighting the unhealthy living conditions in South Africa that are directly affecting children*) Read the text to the lower left of the poster. What message is this poster sending? Since it was produced in London, for whom do you think this poster is intended? (*those outside of South Africa who don't know the social impact of apartheid*)

#5. This poster was also produced by NUSAS. What message is the top line trying to send? How does the photograph illustrate this message? (*by picturing a rally of unity*) The poster demands that government interference in schools be ended. What might this interference be? (*controlling freedom of thought and expression*) What does this poster say about the relationship between the government and students? (*that students oppose the negative influence of the government on education*)

#6. This poster produced by the ANC illustrates the organization's long-standing activism during the 20th century. How does the poster do this? (*through historical and contemporary photos*) What photographs are being used to depict the ANC's past? (*photos of past presidents*) What does the photo in the center say about the ANC's current and future strength? (*that it is strong*)

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#7. This is a poster of the Freedom Charter, the policy statement of the ANC that was adopted during the 1950s. The poster lists the basic principles sought by the ANC: the people shall govern; all national groups shall have equal rights; the people shall share in the country's wealth; land shall be shared among those who work; all shall be equal before the law; all shall enjoy equal human rights; there shall be work and security; the doors of learning and culture shall be opened; there shall be houses, security, and comfort; and there shall be peace and friendship. Beyond directly listing these aims, how do the symbols to the left illustrate this message? Have students notice the dove and the "wheels of progress."

#8. This calendar poster was produced in Nigeria in 1987 by the Nigerian National Committee Against Apartheid. What symbol is the most eye-catching? What is the skeleton holding? The fact that this poster was produced by a group in Nigeria says what regarding the interest of other African nations in South Africa's plight? (*that there was strong interest*)

#9. This poster is from the same calendar. Both use strong imagery. What elements make this imagery strong and as a result send a strong message against apartheid? (*Note the symbols of death: a skeleton, the blood. Also note the symbol of enslavement and the faceless person with military boots and a gun.*)

#10. This poster from 1988 was also produced by NUSAS but celebrates May Day, a day when workers world wide celebrate a common solidarity as members of the working class. This poster uses May Day as an opportunity to recognize the plight of the working class in South Africa. What are some of the facts listed? (*6 million unemployed; 8 million illiterate; the government repression of trade unionism*) The man to the right is holding a poster. What does it say? (*"Bread workers demand a living wage"*) What does this poster say overall about conditions of the working class during the 1980s?

#11. This 1986 poster commemorates the activism of the Communist Party in South Africa. One reason the United States supported the South African government for so long despite its apartheid policies was that it was anti-Communist. What does this poster say about the Communist Party in South Africa? Whose interests did it support? (*African*) How might U.S. support, which ended during the 1980s, have indirectly contributed to political oppression in South Africa?

#12. This poster was produced by the Umkhonto we Sizwe (the Spear of the Nation), which was the militant branch of the ANC. How does this poster suggest a more militant approach to resistance? (*Note the gun, the starkness of the figures, and the smoke in the background.*)

#13. Most political organizations have been male-dominated. This poster commemorates the political action of women against apartheid, specifically the 1956 march in Pretoria. Notice in the photograph the coalition of African, Indian, and white women. Consider how gender created a common bond against forms of oppression.

#14. Many white intellectuals were outspoken against apartheid. This poster presents Nadine Gordimer, who won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1991, as one of these critics. Notice the quotes accompanying her picture that state her position. Also keep in mind that she is a household name in South Africa and that her photo with these statements would draw attention.

#15. This poster presents another stark allegory of apartheid. What does the image of the dinosaur suggest? (*that apartheid should become extinct*)

#16. This poster from the 1980s issued by the South African government suggests a plan for change in political representation, ostensibly for the better. What is immediately striking about this plan? (*its complexity*) Is representation equal? (*no*) Why is representation divided? (*to preserve a white majority*) Who is given the most representation? (*whites*) Which group is not represented at all in this plan? (*Africans*) What does this proposal say overall about the political logic that existed in South Africa's government during the 1980s?

#17. This poster, produced by the ANC before the 1994 election, supports the ANC's platform, specifically its plan against crime. What are the elements of this poster? (*theme, proposed plans, the barbed wire turning into an olive branch*) How are these elements used together to provide a convincing case?

#18. This is another ANC poster from the 1994 election. Notice its simple, bold, direct statement for free, quality education. Given your knowledge of the apartheid era, consider why education was an important political issue.

#19. This poster by the ANC is encouraging potential voters to register and vote for the ANC. Notice its direct appeal to common South Africans. Emphasize the significance of voting for the first time in this national election.

#20. This is a sample ballot from the 1994 election. Notice the number of parties included in South Africa's first free election. (*18*) Notice the different constituencies they represent. What does this number and diversity have to say about the meaning of this election?

#21. A 1994 ANC poster of Nelson Mandela, president of South Africa, Nobel Peace Prize winner, and leader of the ANC.

Note: Posters are courtesy of the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Shira Robinson, and Jeff Trumbuco.

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SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

Teacher Reference

The literature on South African history is broad and continues to increase. The following books have been suggested for their relative availability and wide acclaim.

Beinart, William. *Twentieth-Century South Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994. A general introduction to South Africa's history during the 20th century.

Fredrickson, George M. *Black Liberation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995. A comparative history of black political activism in the United States and South Africa. Also recommended is *White Supremacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), a comparative history of segregation in the United States and South Africa.

Gordimer, Nadine. *Burger's Daughter*. New York: Penguin Books, 1980. Winner of the 1991 Nobel Prize for literature, Nadine Gordimer is one of South Africa's most well-known novelists. This novel, as well as her other works, addresses the ambiguities and problems of white liberalism in South Africa. Her short story collections, such as *Crimes of Conscience* (London: Heinemann, 1991), are also recommended.

Head, Bessie. *A Question of Power*. London: Heinemann, 1974. A widely acclaimed novel by southern Africa's most well-known female African writer. Her writings (novels and short fiction) are recommended for understanding a female African perspective on southern Africa's 20th-century history.

Illustrated History of South Africa. Expanded 3rd ed. Cape Town: Reader's Digest Association Ltd., 1994. A general introduction to South Africa's history with many photographs and illustrations.

Mandela, Nelson. *Long Walk to Freedom*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1994. The autobiography of Nelson Mandela.

Mandela, Nelson. *The Illustrated Long Walk to Freedom*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1996.

Mphahlele, Ezekiel. *Down Second Avenue*. Gloucester, Mass.: P. Smith, 1978. A widely acclaimed, autobiography by one of South Africa's most well-known writers.

Omer-Cooper, J. D. *History of Southern Africa*. Second ed. Westport, CT: Heinemann, 1994. A general history of southern Africa from early African settlement up to the 1990s.

Paton, Alan. *Cry, the Beloved Country*. New York: Scribner, 1976. One of the most famous novels to come from South Africa, upon which the famous movie starring Sidney Poitier is based.

Thompson, Leonard M. *A History of South Africa*. Revised ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995. A general history of South Africa from the precolonial period through the 1994 election.